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THE PIONEER JEWS OF UTAH

BY

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	v
I UTAH REMOTE AND ISOLATED	1
II THE ZIONS OF UTAH AND PALESTINE	7
III THE EARLIEST JEWS IN UTAH	16
IV JEWS WHO BECAME MORMONS	22
V HOW THEY LIVED	28
VI THE COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT	37
VII THE GENTILE CITY OF CORINNE	60
VIII RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES	66
IX THE CEMETERY	91
X FRATERNAL AND BENEVOLENT ORGANIZATIONS	95
APPENDICES:	
Biographies	105
List of Persons Buried in B'nai Israel Cemetery	175
BIBLIOGRAPHY	181
INDEX	187

ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

Great Salt Lake City, 1867 ..... *Frontispiece*
Comparative Map of Utah and Palestine 11
Menu of Mormon Ball, 1860 29
Sign of Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution 59
Independence Hall, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1865 71
Old Synagogue Building of 1883 ..... FACING 78
Congregation B'nai Israel, Salt Lake City, Utah .... FACING 86
Advertisement of Eighth Annual Carnival and Ball of the Hebrew Benevolent and Relief Societies, 1884 101
Sketch of dead child, 1854 ..... FACING 121
Julius Gerson Brooks, Fanny Brooks, Frederick S. Auerbach, Samuel H. Auerbach ..... FACING 124
Samuel Kahn, Emanuel Kahn, Nicholas S. Ransohoff, Ransohoff's Store ..... FACING 128
Charles Popper, Carlotta Popper, Moses Hirschman, Henry J. Siegel ..... FACING 134
Cohn Brothers Store 141
Abraham Watters, Ichel Watters, Lazarus Watters,.. FACING 144
Ketubah [Marriage Contract] of Abraham Watters and Rebecca Steeg, 1862 ..... *between pages* 148 & 149
Advertisement of A. Watters & Co. 149
Advertisement of Watters Brothers, 1866 151
H. Cohn & Co.'s Warehouse 159
Simon Bamberger, Fred Simon, Alexander Cohn, Louis Cohn ..... FACING 168

PREFACE

The object in writing this book has been to form a permanent record of the early Jews of Utah. Utah, having been founded by the Mormons, and that sect having been the overwhelmingly predominant one in the State, its story has been told in thousands of books and documents. The histories of the Catholic and Protestant groups in that area have likewise been written. But only fragmentary records of Utah's Jewish pioneers are available. Following the Chicago Exposition in 1892 an ecclesiastical history of Utah was published to which the late Rabbi Moses P. Jacobson and his wife contributed short articles on the Jews of Utah.[1] In 1905, a brief article on the same subject by the late Rabbi Charles J. Freund was published in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*[2] and, in the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia,* published in 1943, the present writer contributed articles on the Jews of Utah and Salt Lake City.[3] More recently, I published an article, entitled "Some Notes on the Early Jews in Utah" in the *Utah Humanities Review.*[4] Since the exploits of Solomon N. Carvalho, a Jew who accompanied Frémont on his last expedition of exploration, had been neglected and especially since he had spent some time in Utah and had be-

[1] *World's Fair Ecclesiastical History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1892), pp. 298–318.

[2] *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1901), vol. XII, pp. 391–392.

[3] *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* (New York, 1939), vol. IX, pp. 329–330; vol. X, p. 385.

[4] *Utah Humanities Review* (Salt Lake City), vol. II, no. 1 (Jan., 1948), pp. 10–25.

come friendly with Brigham Young, I thought it well to include parts of the articles which I had written regarding him in the magazine *Liberal Judaism* along with some additional information I had subsequently discovered concerning him.[5]

My desire to publish the story of the Jews in Utah is of long standing, since my father was among its early settlers and I, myself, was born there. Accordingly, during a period of some fifty years, I have been collecting information bearing on this subject. From time to time, as opportunity afforded, I spent many weeks at the Church Historian's Office in Salt Lake City, laboriously scanning every newspaper there from the first issues on, extracting contemporaneous information appropriate to my theme. While some of the pioneers were still alive, I secured from them personal reminiscences of the early days, which I have since augmented with information secured from their descendants. In a similar manner, I have searched the files of the State Library at Sacramento, California; the Huntington Library at San Marino, California; the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California; the American Jewish Archives at the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio; the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library and others. In addition, I have collected books dealing with Utah which I searched for information pertaining to the Jews. From all these various sources, together with my personal recollections, the present volume has evolved.

Since the Jews in Utah lived among the Mormons, this environment had a considerable influence in conditioning their lives and viewpoints and, because of the origin of

[5] *Liberal Judaism*, vol. XIV, no. 1, (May, 1946), pp. 39–43; no. 2 (June, 1946), pp. 43–51.

the Church of Latter-Day Saints (Mormons), which ties that sect, according to their doctrines, closely to the ancient Israelites, I have given a brief explanation of the history and beliefs of the Mormon people. Because most of the Jews in Utah were engaged in mercantile pursuits, I have sketched the development of business there and have endeavored to depict some of the color and flavor of the turbulent times in which these pioneers lived. I have written about those individuals who were among the first to come to Utah and whose careers provided interesting information. The number of persons whose biographies are herein presented is, however, far from complete. Having known all these individuals personally, some of the data concerning them stems from my boyhood recollections.

I am deeply grateful to those who have aided me in this study, particularly to Mr. Lee M. Friedman of Boston, President of the American Jewish Historical Society, who not only read the manuscript in detail, but also gave me valued advice and encouragement; to Rabbi Isidore S. Meyer, Librarian and Editor of that Society for his faithful co-operation over a period of more than a year; to the authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, who accorded me access to their vast files of information concerning the early settlers; to Mabel R. Gillis of the California State Library at Sacramento, whose assistance in tracing the careers of the Watters brothers in the early days in California is much appreciated; to the authorities of the Huntington Library, San Marino; to Dr. George P. Hammond of the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California; to Dr. Joshua Bloch, Chief of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library; to Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, Director of the Amer-

ican Jewish Archives of the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio, and to the respective staffs of the aforementioned libraries and institutions; and to Rabbi Louis I. Egelson for seeing the manuscript through the press.

LEON LAIZER WATTERS

New York, 1952

THE PIONEER JEWS OF UTAH

I

Utah Remote and Isolated

The traveller of today, boarding a Union Pacific train at Omaha, Nebraska, can cover the 1,026 miles to Salt Lake City in seventeen hours. In 1847, the Mormons, following much the same route, left "Winter Quarters" on the Missouri River, near the present site of Omaha, on April 16th and did not reach Great Salt Lake City until July 24th.[1] It had taken the Mormons three and a quarter months to travel a total of 1,031 miles.[2] Can today's tourist, sitting in comfort in an air-conditioned Pullman car and having at his command every convenience of modern civilization, adequately visualize these pioneers plodding their weary way across the prairies and through the mountain passes? Can he realize that in 1847 all of the vast region through which his streamlined train is speeding was a wilderness known only to the Indians, the fur traders, the explorers and a handful of other venturesome spirits? The thriving cities and towns and the prosperous farms which he sees from his car window did not exist; in fact the vast territory which includes Utah, California and parts of Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado, did not even belong to the United

[1] The name was changed to Salt Lake City by legislative action on January 29, 1866.

[2] William Clayton, *William Clayton's Journal* (Salt Lake City, 1921), p. 314.

States at the time the Mormons made their historic trek.[3]

The courage of the Mormon pioneers is indisputable and their story will always remain an epic in the history of the West. But the story of the first few Jews who crossed the plains has added interest. This also can be said of those who made the journey much later for, as will be shown, the trip was not without danger even after the stage-coaches and the railroad had begun operation. For those who took the alternate routes via Panama or "around the Horn," the difficulties and discomforts were not much ameliorated, as will shortly be made apparent. Despite the hardships which the Mormons endured, they had some advantages over other travellers: the advantage of safety in companionship, united in a common cause and under competent leadership. The early Jews who made the trip, on the contrary, travelled alone or, at best, with one or two companions of their own faith among the group. They were strangers in a strange land, for it should be noted that almost without exception they had been in the United States but for a few years before setting out for the West. The Mormons of this period were for the most part native born. Most of them had been farmers inured to hardship and accustomed to the open country. To the Jew, even the language and customs of his adopted country were unfamiliar and those who in the early days lived in the West were, because of these circumstances, made the butt of raillery, not always good-natured.

Even after the stage coaches began operation in 1858, the trip was fraught with discomfort and danger. These stages rattled, bounced and jolted over the rough trail;

[3] This territory was ceded to the United States by Mexico in 1848 by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and by the Gadsden Purchase in 1853.

it was blisteringly hot in mid-summer and the dust over the prairies was often intolerable; in the winter months the weather was freezing cold. The food available at the stopping places was coarse and, unfortunately for the Jews, was of a type which, according to their dietary laws, was forbidden. Added to these discomforts was the feeling of utter loneliness in being separated from family and friends not only by the broad expanse of their adopted country but by the Atlantic Ocean as well, for most of them had come as young, unmarried men, having left their families in Europe. Mail was slow and uncertain and the travellers had no word from their loved ones at home for months. As migration across the plains increased, the danger of molestation by the Indians likewise increased. At the time the Mormons crossed, the Indians had not as yet acquired the bitter hostility toward the white man that was to come later; they did not then realize that they were destined to lose the lands over which they had previously roamed at will. They had not yet learned that seemingly inexhaustible quantities of supplies which the "pale face" possessed were to be had by attacking wagon trains and stage coaches. However, they soon became aware of this and even after Federal troops had been stationed along the way to protect travellers, the Indians found it possible to ambush stages at unexpected times and places. At one period nearly all of the stations of Ben Holliday's stage line for a hundred miles were burned, his men killed and his stock stolen.[4] Contemporary accounts of the Jews who took the overland route are only fragmentary; so far as is known, none of them kept a diary.[5]

[4] William Lightfoot Visscher, *The Pony Express* (Chicago, 1908), p. 21.

[5] Details of individual experiences are to be found in some of the biographies, *infra*, pp. 108 ff. For accounts of others, see Daniel S. Tuttle, *Reminis-*

Even as late as 1867 the insurance companies felt it necessary to restrict the activities of their policy holders who desired to travel and trade in the Far West. Thus, Henry Siegel, an early resident of Salt Lake, found himself compelled to secure a permit from the Equitable Life Assurance Society of New York to prevent the invalidation of his insurance policy:

> Permission is hereby given to Henry Siegel, whose life is insured by our policy No. 22443 for the amount of $10,000, to trade and reside in any Western Territories or States of the United States lying west of the 100 parallel so far only as his business as merchant in dry-goods and clothing may require, but not to engage in mining, provided always that conditions, limitations and requirements of said policy or policies, except as herein modified, remain in force. The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States at New York, 9th. day of July, 1867. G. W. PHILLIPS, Act.[6]

After the completion of the railroad the Union Pacific ran the following advertisement:

> The Union Pacific completed March, 1869. Seventy-eight hours to Chicago. One interesting feature connected with travel on this line is found in the herds of Antelope and Buffalo which are often passed and which sometimes run for two or three miles, keeping pace with the cars.[7]

Among the Jews who took the overland route were: Solomon N. Carvalho with Frémont's exploration party in 1853; Julius and Fanny Brooks, by prairie schooner from Galena, Illinois in 1854; Meyer Rosenberg, Berry Marks, Morris Rosenbaum, Nicholas S. Ransohoff, Eli

cences of a Missionary Bishop (New York, 1906), pp. 63, 68–71; Salt Lake City *Telegraph*, March 11, 1867.

[6] The original insurance policy is now in the possession of his son, Joseph H. Siegel, of New York.

[7] From a contemporary pamphlet.

Ransohoff, Samuel Kahn, Abraham and Adam Kuhn, Gumpert Goldberg and Meyer Cohn.[8]

On the other hand, many of the earliest Jewish pioneers preferred to go West by the sea or combined sea and land routes to California, before coming to Utah. However, the advertised advantages of these routes proved to be a fraud to those who were induced to travel that way. This was particularly true after 1849, the year of the "gold rush," when the demand for accommodation to "El Dorado" and quick fortunes to be found there, taxed all the available shipping facilities on the Atlantic seaboard. Any old hulk that could float was requisitioned for service. Avaricious steamship agents, after having promised first class accommodations and collecting payment in advance, crowded passengers like cattle into cramped, unsanitary quarters and furnished them with the vilest of food. Those who took the all-water route down the Atlantic coast, around Cape Horn to the Pacific Ocean and north to San Francisco, had a long and tedious voyage. Among the Jews who used this route were Abraham Watters, Aaron Greenewald and Charles Popper.[9] The Panama route was represented as being quicker and came into wide use in 1849 and the early 1850's, but the oral accounts and diaries of those who used this route indicate the miseries which they suffered.[10]

Among those who took the Panama route, and who later settled in Utah, were the three Auerbach brothers, Moses Hirschman and Ichel Watters.[11] Ichel Watters, who made the trip about 1850, related to the writer

[8] See their biographies, *infra,* pp. 126–130, 155, 160.

[9] See biographies, *infra,* pp. 134–135, 142 ff.

[10] Descriptions of the trip were given orally to the writer by Charles Popper and Ichel Watters. Cf. William M. Stewart, *Reminiscences* (New York, 1908), p. 48.

[11] See their biographies, *infra,* pp. 131–133, 150 ff., 161.

how the passengers, on arriving on the Atlantic side by steamer from New York, had been promised transportation of their persons and baggage across the Isthmus of Panama on mule-back; for this they had paid in advance of sailing. When they had been transferred to the native boats to go up the river as far as possible, the oarsmen halted their craft and refused to go further unless paid again and in gold. When further progress on the river became impossible, the wet and tired passengers were informed that there were mules only for the transportation of the baggage and the passengers were left no alternative but to overcome this difficulty and plod their weary way across the malaria and mosquito infested jungle to the Pacific side. Here they discovered that the vessel which had been promised to carry them north to San Francisco was not to be seen. Panama City was crowded with hordes of passengers awaiting similar accommodations for which they had paid in New York. They did not learn till later that the crews of the vessels which were intended to transport them, had deserted on arrival in San Francisco to seek fortune in the gold fields. When they finally secured passage, they found the conditions aboard as vile as those which they had experienced on the Atlantic side.[12]

[12] Oral statement given to the writer. See also, J. M. Letts, *California Illustrated* (New York, 1853), pp. 177–179; Joaquin Miller, *History of Montana* (Chicago, 1894), pp. 273–274.

II

The Zions of Utah and Palestine

The story of the Jews who settled in Utah in the early days acquires unusual and peculiar interest when one considers the origin of the Mormon religion, the similarity between the settlement which the Mormons established on the shores of the Great Salt Lake and that of the Israelites in Palestine and the contacts which the Jews had with the Mormons beginning with the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith. In Utah a tiny minority of Jews lived in the midst of a preponderant majority of Mormons who practiced a religion claimed to be derived from one of the ancient tribes of Israel. The religious hierarchy of the Mormons had many points of resemblance to that of the Israelites of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Too little is generally known of the intention of the Mormon people, more than a hundred years ago, to restore the Jews to Palestine and to establish a second Zion in Utah. The *Book of Mormon,* which was first published in 1830, recites the story of the dispersal of the Jews and of "Lehi, a prophet of the tribe of Manasseh" who "led his tribe out of Jerusalem in the year 600 B.C. to the coast of America."[1]

The tie between the Mormons and the Israelitish forefathers of modern Jews is a strange phenomenon which

[1] For an authoritative account of the origin of the Mormon religion, its beliefs and teachings, see James E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith* (Salt Lake City, 1917), which was prepared under the direction of, and published by the Church. Talmage, a geologist of some note, served as a Professor at the University of Utah and later as its President.

made the contact of the present-day Jews with the Mormon people in Utah unique in the annals of history. To be sure, the Jews did not accept the version of the Book of Mormon. Indeed, the Jewish converts to Mormonism since that faith was established have been less than a dozen.[2] Yet the fact that these two groups lived together so many years in an isolated community has brought about some anomalous situations. One of these gave rise to the oft-used expression: "Utah is the only place in the world where Jews are Gentiles." Everywhere else, Gentiles are considered as non-Jews by both birth and religion; but in Utah, everyone not a Mormon is classified and designated a "Gentile." This of course includes Catholics, Episcopalians, Methodists and Presbyterians as well as Jews and non-believers. The inclusion of Jews in this category was accepted generally throughout the Territory and also later when Utah became a State. William Chandless, an Englishman who had visited Utah in 1855 and later went on to California, relates a story anent the relationship of the Mormons to the ancient Israelites, concerning a Jew whom he met on reaching there:

> We caught up with a young Jew, a sort of merchant peddler with a pack swung over a pony. After a fitting salutation, "You are a Jew, are you not?", said Uncle Bill; the other assented. Then Uncle Bill said: "We are of the tribe of Ephraim, the Mormons, you know, of Salt Lake." The Jew was fairly flabbergasted at this new relationship and did not know what to make of it, whether to laugh or to embrace this new found Israelite. Uncle Bill, with many polite remarks, added that the rest of the Ten Tribes were in the north country and would turn up presently and they and the Jews would be gathered to their own country . . . This was too much for the Jew; it was becoming

[2] See chapter IV, "Jews Who Became Mormons," *infra*, pp. 22–27.

serious. He was doing a thriving business and had no wish to be "gathered." He could not laugh, but rapidly turned off the road.[3]

Albert D. Richardson, who accompanied Schuyler Colfax, Speaker of the Federal House of Representatives, on his trip to Utah in 1865, was led to comment: "In this strange community all the brethern are Saints, all the outsiders are sinners, and all the Jews are Gentiles!"[4] This designation formed the basis for many stories and anecdotes. One of these is told of Simon Bamberger during his campaign which resulted in his election to the Governorship of Utah in 1916. The Mormon people, who were favorable to his candidacy, suggested to him the desirability of his speaking in one of the remote communities in southern Utah which had been settled by Mormon converts from the Scandinavian countries. As the story goes, Bamberger alighted from the train there and was met by a local delegation headed by a tall and robust Norwegian with a flowing beard. In contrast, Bamberger, who was short and stubby, heard this towering Norwegian greet him with a menacing threat:

> You might yust as vell go right back vere you come from. If you tink ve let any damn Yentile speak in our meeting house, yure mistaken!

Bamberger looked up into the face of the determined-looking leader and slowly replied:

> As a Jew, I have been called many a bad name, but this is the first time in my life that I have been called a damn Gentile!

Instantly the menacing attitude of the leader of the com-

[3] William Chandless, *A Visit to Salt Lake* (London, 1857), p. 352.

[4] Albert D. Richardson, *Beyond the Mississippi* (Hartford, 1867), p. 352. For a similar story, see the Salt Lake City *Tribune*, Sept. 13, 1870.

mittee relaxed and, throwing his arm around Bamberger's shoulders, he exultingly exclaimed:

> You a Yew, an Israelite. Hear him men, he's not a Yentile, he's a Yew, an Israelite.

And then to Bamberger:

> Velcome my friend; velcome, our next Governor.

And truly enough, Simon Bamberger became the next Governor of Utah.

Edward W. Tullidge, who had written two authoritative histories of Utah and had published a quarterly magazine of considerable merit and had been a Mormon previous to a schism which caused his withdrawal from that church, wrote a play to express his regard for the Jews. It was entitled *Ben Israel* and was performed at the Grand Opera House in New York on March 6, 1876. Tullidge stated that he deplored the commonly accepted picture of the Jews on the stage as exemplified by Shylock and Fagin and wrote in his preface:

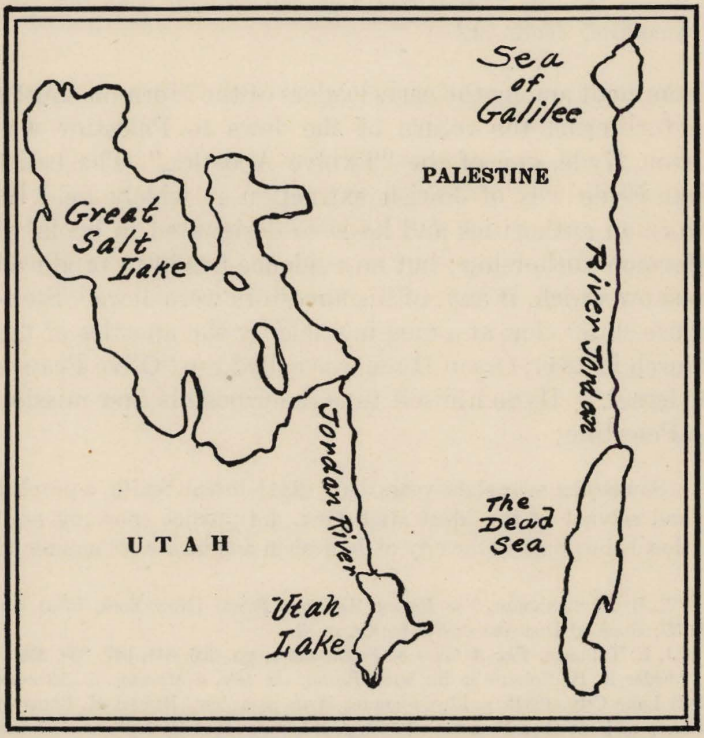
> Your theme and race, my Hebrew brethern, constitute the grandest epic of the world, and it is time that we gentiles do you justice, for the nations owe to your people the crown of civilizations.[5]

Aside from the religious aspects, there is a startling similarity in the character and topography of the region which Brigham Young selected on the shores of the Great Salt Lake in Utah for the Mormon settlement, to that settled by the ancient Israelites in Palestine. Here, in Utah, was a desert-like land strikingly like that of Pal-

[5] Edward W. Tullidge, *Ben Israel—A Jewish Play* (Salt Lake City: John C. Graham Co., 1875). See also, Edward D. Coleman, *The Jew in English Drama; an Annotated Bibliography* (New York, 1943), p. 111.

estine; here, too, was a salt-water lake without an outlet, the Great Salt Lake, comparable to the Dead Sea of the Holy Land; here was a fresh-water lake, Utah Lake, comparable to the Sea of Galilee in Palestine. Since the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea in Palestine were connected by the River Jordan, the Mormons, to complete the analogy, promptly designated the river connecting the Utah Lake with the Great Salt Lake, the River Jordan!

The names "Zion," "The New Jerusalem" and "The Holy Land" appear frequently in Mormon literature and



COMPARATIVE MAP OF UTAH AND PALESTINE

have been widely employed in describing Utah and more specifically Salt Lake City. A study of Mormon documents amply supports the fact that it was their intention to again restore the Jews to Palestine and to establish a second "Zion" in Utah. As early as 1834 Joseph Smith stated that "I will raise up unto my people a man who shall lead them like as Moses led the children of Israel . . . so shall the redemption of Zion be."[6] The intent is emphasized in the tenth "Article of Faith" as follows:

> We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this (the American) continent.[7]

Prominent among the early leaders of the Mormon church in furthering the return of the Jews to Palestine was Orson Hyde, one of the "Twelve Apostles." The belief that Hyde was of Jewish extraction is widely held by Mormon authorities and he is so designated in books of Mormon authorship; but no evidence has been produced to show which, if any, of his ancestors were Jews.[8] Stenhouse states that at a meeting held by the apostles of the church in 1841, Orson Hyde was called the "Olive Branch of Israel."[9] Hyde himself thus describes his first mission to Palestine:

> Something near eight years ago [1834] Joseph Smith, a prophet and servant of the Most High God, did predict upon my head that I should go to the city of Jerusalem and be a watchman unto

[6] T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints* (New York, 1873), pp. 38, 50; *Book of Doctrine & Covenants*, p. 82.

[7] J. E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith, supra*, pp. 326, 341, 347, 350, 356.

[8] Elder B. H. Roberts in his book *Rasha, the Jew, a Message to All Jews* (Salt Lake City, 1932), p. 97, designates Hyde as a Jew. Hubert H. Bancroft *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1890), p. 413, states that Hyde "was of Jewish descent."

[9] T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints, supra*, p. 128.

the house of Israel and perform a work there which would greatly facilitate the gathering together of that people.[10]

At a general conference held at Nauvoo, Illinois, on April 6, 1840, Hyde was appointed to go on a mission to the Jews in London, Amsterdam, Constantinople and Jerusalem. He arrived in Jerusalem on October 24, 1841, and returned to Nauvoo the following year. Bancroft writes of him:

> Of Jewish descent, he stirred up his unbelieving race in the towns to which he was sent to a livelier faith in the promises of their gathering, and consecrated their land anew to their restoration, when the glory of their latter house should be greater than the glory of their former house.[11]

At a much later period [1872], Brigham Young, the President of the Mormon Church, and his counselors issued the following instructions to George A. Smith, who was about to depart on a mission to the Holy Land:

> When you go to the land of Palestine, we wish you to dedicate and consecrate that land to the Lord, that it may be blessed with fruitfulness preparatory to the return of the Jews in fulfillment of the prophesy and the accomplishment of the purposes of our Heavenly Father.[12]

In connection with these later developments, it has been stated [but so far unverified] that the prophet, Joseph Smith, in prophesying the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, had called attention to the singular fact that

[10] A Sketch of the Travels and Ministry of Elder Orson Hyde, Huntington Library, Ms., no. 25340. See also H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah, supra,* p. 413.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] Edward W. Tullidge, *Histories of Utah,* vol. II (Salt Lake City, 1886), biographical section, p. 17. See also, Ms., Correspondence, Palestine Tourists, Huntington Library; *Archives Israelites* (Paris), 1873, p. 190.

Britain bears the royal coat of arms of Israel, the Lion of Judah and the Unicorn of Ephraim on its seal, and that Great Britain would be instrumental in the restoration of the Jews to their ancient home.

Among the records of the Mormon Church are several interesting incidents of the contact of Jews with the Mormon hierarchy. One of these concerns the teaching of Hebrew to the prophet Joseph Smith by Joshua Seixas who was the son of Gershom Mendes Seixas, the patriot preacher of the Spanish and Portugese Synagogue in New York City during the Revolutionary War and also a trustee of Columbia College.

In Joseph Smith's diary the following entries appear:

> Jan. 14 [1836]: Met the Hebrew class at the school room in the Temple [at Kirtland, Ohio] and made some arrangements about our anticipated teacher, Mr. Joshua Seixas, of Hudson, Ohio.
>
> Jan. 26: Mr. Seixas arrived from Hudson to teach the Hebrew language and I attended upon the organizing of the class for the purpose of receiving lectures upon Hebrew grammar. . . . His instruction pleased me very much. I think he will be a great help in learning Hebrew.[13]

About the same time Lorenzo Snow, an apostle of the Church, also studied Hebrew "under a professor" at Ravenna, Ohio.[14] In 1841, Elder Orson Hyde, then in England, wrote a letter to Rabbi Solomon Herschell, the Chief Rabbi of England, in which he stated:

> About nine years ago [1832] a young man [the prophet Joseph Smith], with whom I had a short acquaintance, [and] in whom

[13] History of the Church (of the Latter-Day Saints), in the office of the Church Historian, Salt Lake City, vol. I, p. 368; Andrew M. Jensen, *Church Chronology* (Salt Lake City, 1914), p. 12; *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (= *PAJHS*), no. 4 (1896), p. 208.

[14] E. W. Tullidge, vol. II, biographical section, p. 17.

dwelt much wisdom and knowledge . . . laid his hand upon my head and pronounced these remarkable words: "In due time thou shalt go to Jerusalem, the land of thy fathers, to be a watchman unto the house of Israel; and by thy hands shall the Most High do a great work which shall prepare the way and greatly facilitate the gathering together of that people." Many other particulars were told me at that time, which I do not write in this letter. But sufficient is written to show that divine appointment is claimed as the mainspring that has sent me forth from the embrace of an affectionate family and kind friends, as well as from the land that gave me birth.[15]

[15] Copy of letter in the office of the Church Historian, Salt Lake City.

III

The Earliest Jewish Settlers in Utah

The fewness of the Jews, as compared with other sects, has always necessitated tedious research to uncover the part they have played in any particular calling or in any particular locality. This has been markedly true in Utah for, unlike their Mormon brethren, who had always meticulously kept accurate records of their people, the Jews of Utah kept very few. Previous to the formation of the Congregation B'nai Israel in 1881, virtually no records exist.

Just who the first Jew was to cross the plains and mountains into Utah is not definitely established. We do know that Alexander Neibaur, who had been born a Jew and had been educated to become a rabbi, but who had subsequently embraced Mormonism, came to Utah in 1848.[1] Abraham Watters is known to have been at Independence, Missouri (then the "jumping-off" point for travellers across the plains), in 1847, and it was first believed that he had made the overland crossing from there to Utah. Later investigation however makes it probable that he reached California by sailing around Cape Horn in 1849 and later came to Utah from there.[2] Two other Jews, Meyer Rosenberg and Berry Marks, are reputed to have been in Utah in 1848 but documentary

[1] See chapter IV, "Jews Who Became Mormons," *infra*, pp. 22–27.
[2] See biography of Abraham Watters, *infra*, pp. 142 ff.

authentication is not available.[3] Another Jew, Levi Abrahams, came to Utah in 1854 and there joined the Mormon church,[4] as did also Morris Rosenbaum.[5] Another, named Meyers, but otherwise not identified, is said to have come to Utah in 1853 with Colonel E. J. Steptoe's army.[6] Solomon N. Carvalho arrived in Utah with Colonel John Charles Frémont's exploring expedition on February 8, 1854, and remained long enough to become friendly with Brigham Young and to paint the portraits of several Mormon dignitaries.[7] It is, however, established that the first Jews who came to Utah and ultimately remained there were Julius Gerson Brooks and his wife Fanny. They arrived by the overland route in the summer of 1854.[8] Nicholas S. Ransohoff and Louis Nathan were in Salt Lake City in 1858, or were expected there, as letters were awaiting them at the local post-office.[9] Henry Rosenfeld is definitely known to have been in Salt Lake City in 1859.[10] Undoubtedly all of the Jews who took the overland route to California during the "Gold Rush" days passed through Salt Lake City as that city was the resting and refitting point before crossing the alkali desert and the Sierra Nevada mountains, but

[3] Mrs. Charles W. Nibley, a daughter of Alexander Neibaur, told the writer in 1923 that she believed that "Marks" or "Marx" Rosenberg was the first Jew to come to Utah. Joseph Rosenberg of Fallon, Nevada, told the writer that he was the son of "Meyer" Rosenberg and that his father and "Berry" Marks, who was born in Russia, had crossed the plains, arrived in Salt Lake City in the spring of 1848 and remained there till 1849, when they went on to California.

[4] See chapter IV, "Jews Who Became Mormons," *infra,* pp. 22–27.

[5] Diary of Alexander Neibaur, Feb. 27, 1858. Ms. at Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.

[6] Verbal statement of Mrs. Charles W. Nibley to the writer.

[7] See biography of Carvalho, *infra,* pp. 119–120.

[8] Diary of Alexander Neibaur, July 9, 1854.

[9] Salt Lake City *Valley Tan,* Nov. 12 and 18, 1858.

[10] Diary of Alexander Neibaur, Dec. 25, 1859.

no records of such are available except an occasional mention in the local newspapers. It was not until the period from 1864 to 1872 that any considerable number arrived for permanent settlement. Most of those who came to Utah during that period had first gone to California via Panama or Cape Horn routes and had come to Utah after the decline of the mining boom in California and Nevada.

The first Directory, which was published in Utah in 1867, lists some thirty-nine names of Jews. It does not list the names of any of the wives or other females who were there and omits some men known to have been in the Territory at that date. Those listed are the following:

AUERBACH, DAVID
AUERBACH, FRED H.
AUERBACH, SAMUEL
AUERBACH, THEODORE H.
BOUKOFSKY, G.
BROOKS, JULIUS G.
COHN, L.
DAVIS, H.
ELGUTTER, MORRIS
ELGUTTER, SOLOMON
ELLIS, B.
ELLIS, ISAAC
ELLIS, NATHAN
ENGLER, LOUIS
GANS, A.
GLOCKSMON, M.
GOLDSTEIN, S.
GREENBERG, M.
GREENEWALD, A.
JOEL, S. W.
KAHN, EMANUEL
KAHN, SAMUEL
LESSER, S.
LEVENTHAL, A.
LEVY, L.
MEYER, H.
MEYER, M.
MORRIS, I.
NATHAN, SAMUEL J.
OBERFELDER, I.
ORNSTEIN, J.
POPPER, CHARLES
PRAG, CONRAD
RANSOHOFF, E.
RANSOHOFF, N. S.
REGGEL, LOUIS
SIEGEL, J.
SIEGEL, S.
WATTERS, ICHEL[11]

[11] G. Owen, *Salt Lake City Directory* (Salt Lake City, 1867); *The Israelite* (Cincinnati), vol. XI, no. 27 (Dec. 30, 1864), p. 213.

The Directory published two years later [1869], includes the names of some of those omitted from the previous one, among these being:

Gottlieb, Joel	Rubin, H.
Morris, B.	Watters, Abraham.[12]

The Directory, published in 1874, shows a considerable addition to the previous one and it includes the names of several persons which were omitted in the 1867 Directory though known to have been in Utah at that time. Those included in the 1874 Directory as listed below are known to have been Jews by a comparison with other records, though two or three may be questionable. The occupations or trades of those listed are given wherever such is available:

SALT LAKE CITY

Adler, Charles	Liquors	Cohn, Henry	Produce
Arnstein, L.	Capitalist	Cohn, Louis	Drygoods
Auerbach, Fred	Merchant	Cowen, S. M.	Cigars
Auerbach, Samuel	Merchant	Eisenhimel, Chas.	Bookkeeper
Barnett, H.	Salesman	Engler, J.	Salesman
Baruch, Simon	Clerk	Friedman, S.	Salesman
Baumgarten, L. L.	Salesman	Gensler, S.	Merchant
Behrman, Jacob	Mining	Gold, S.	Salesman
Boukofsky, Louis	Clerk	Goldberg, L.	Clothing
Boukofsky, N.	Liquors	Goldberg, Maurice	Mining
Blumenthal, Isaac	Drygoods	Goldman, Mrs. C.	Milliner
Blumenthal, Phineas	Drygoods	Greenbaum, Simon	Tailor
Buxbaum, M.	Wool	Greenig, Daniel	Grocer
Cohen, H. M.	Merchant	Hanak, Simon	Grocer
Cohen, Lennel	Cigars	Hirschman, Henry	Merchant
Cohn, Alexander	Clerk	Hirschman, M.	Mining

[12] Edward L. Sloan, *Gazetteer of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1869). This directory is fairly complete and accurate so far as the Mormon population is concerned because the church authorities kept accurate records of its members. A close examination of this book, however, reveals that a number of non-Mormons, including Jews, are not listed though known from other sources to have been in Utah in 1869.

Hollander, Leo	Jeweler	Nathan, S. J.	Clothing
Hollander, Theo	Jeweler	Newbaur	Cigars
Hyams, Louis	Clothing	Ornstein, J.	Butcher
Jacob, A.	Tailor	Pearlman, B. M.	Salesman
Jacobs, Elias	Auctioneer	Plonsky, J.	
Joelson, J. M.	Furniture	Podlech, A.	Hotel
Kahn, Emanuel	Groceries	Popper, Chas.	Butcher
Kahn, Samuel	Groceries	Reggel, Louis	Merchant
Kuhn, B.	Tobacco	Schoenberg, I.	Mining
Leventhal, A.	Auctioneer	Siegel, Elias	Clothing
Levi, A.	Butcher	Siegel, Jos.	Clerk
Levi, Harry		Siegel, Sol	Clothing
Levy, Ben		Simon, J.	Clerk
Levy, Sam	Cigar Mfr.	Simon, Sieg.	Clothing
Levy, S.	Clerk	Stiefel, Alex	Teamster
Marks, I.	Salesman	Symons, Samuel	
Mendelsohn, David	Merchant	Van Praag, H. A.	Wool
Meyer, Fred	Clerk	Wasserman, Moses	
Meyer, H.		Watters, Abraham	Jewelry
Meyer, M.	Clothing	Watters, Ichel	Jewelry
Meyers, Henry	Tailor	Woolf, Isaac	Clothing
Moritz, G.	Barber	Woolf, M.	Cigars
Moritz, Jacob	Brewer	Woolf, Simon	Cigars
Moritz, Moses	Coal	Wurzburg, Luis	Grocer
Myers, M.	Salesman		

ALTA

Cohn, Abe

BINGHAM

Blumenthal Bros., Merchants
Jacobs, I.
Klipstein & Miller
Morris, Isadore

CORINNE

Bornstein, Jacob
L. Cohn & Bro.
Elial, Leonard
Farmer, J. D.
Greenewald, Aaron
A. Kuhn & Bro.
Ponasky, Newman

LOGAN

Bergman & Goldman

OPHIR

GREENEWALD & LA BLANC
GREENWALD, JACOB J.
LIPMAN, MORRIS
MEYER & WERTHEIMER
SELIG, JOSEPH
SIMONS, LUCIEN

OGDEN

LEVY, F.
LEVY, SAMUEL
MENDELSOHN, JULIUS
PLONSKY, S.[13]

[13] Edward L. Sloan, *Gazetteer of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1874).

IV

Jews Who Became Mormons

Although conversion of those of other faiths to their religion has always been a cardinal factor in the growth of Mormonism, the records disclose that very few Jews have ever been so converted. In 1867, a correspondent of *The Israelite,* writing from Salt Lake City, stated that only four Jews had embraced Mormonism up to that date.[1]

Mention has already been made of Alexander Neibaur, the first Jew so converted and the first to come to Utah. His conversion is unique in that his father had the intention to educate his son to become a rabbi. Neibaur was born in Ehrenbreitstein, a city in Alsace-Lorraine, then a part of France and later of Germany, on January 8, 1808. His parents were Nathan and Rebecca Peretz Neibaur. The father who had been a physician and surgeon in the army of Napoleon, had prepared his son for the rabbinate. But, at the age of seventeen, while at the University of Berlin, the son decided to study dentistry and when he was twenty he renounced the faith of his fathers and embraced Christianity. Instead of returning to his home he went to England where he practiced his

[1] Lieut. John W. Gunnison of the U.S. Topographical Engineers, who was in Utah in 1852, wrote: "The Mormon missionaries apply to Jewish Rabbis and ask them to listen to the voice of the gentile prophet . . . but the Jew stands yet unconvinced and holds to his traditions." (J. W. Gunnison, *The Mormons* [Philadelphia, 1856], p. 99.) Brigham Young preached a sermon in the Tabernacle on Oct. 29, 1854, in which he said: "No Jew coming into this Church will remain faithful." See also, *Archives Israelites* (Paris), 1865, p. 460.

profession and, at the city of Preston, married Ellen Breakel. At this time the first group of Mormon missionaries, including Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Willard Richards and Joseph Fielding had come from America for the purpose of proselytizing. Neibaur became imbued with their preaching, and in 1837, both he and his wife were converted to Mormonism. In 1841, the two sailed from England along with some two-hundred other converts and went to Nauvoo, Illinois, which was then the seat of the Mormon church. Here he is reputed to have given instruction to Joseph Smith in German and in Hebrew.[2] In 1848, Neibaur and his family made the trip across the plains in an ox-drawn wagon and settled in Salt Lake City where he set himself up as a dentist and built a one room, mud covered adobe house with his own hands. Having a growing family to support and finding the income from his practice of dentistry insufficient, he looked about for some means of augmenting his earnings. Noting the great scarcity of matches and their high cost, he decided to attempt their manufacture. His knowledge of chemistry enabled him to fabricate crude sulphur matches which he advertised in the local paper, coincident with his profession, as follows:

A. NEIBAUR
Surgeon Dentist
Carries in Stock a Supply of the
Best Sulphur Matches
Made by Himself.[3]

[2] *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine,* vol. V, no. 2 (April 19, 1914), pp. 53–63.

[3] *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), vol. II, no. 2 (Nov. 29, 1851). Matches were a luxury and most of the pioneers lit their candles at night by a taper and a hot coal from their firesides. Even as late as 1865, a box of matches cost 17 cents (*Deseret News,* July 26, 1865.)

Neibaur was a successful "matchmaker" in another respect, too, for he advantageously married off the eleven of his fourteen children who reached maturity. One of his daughters married Charles W. Nibley who ultimately became Presiding Bishop of the Mormon Church while another daughter became the wife of Morris Rosenbaum, a Jew who came to Utah in 1854, and had been converted to Mormonism. Neibaur succinctly describes in his diary the rapidity with which the conversion and the marriage were performed.

Febr. 27, 1858:	Mr. Morris Rosenbaum, a Jew from Fordhon, Grand Duchy of Posen, Prussia, was baptized.
April 1:	Mr. Morris [*sic!*] was confirmed.
April 2:	Mr. Morris and my daughter, Alice Breakel, were married by myself in my house.
April 17:	Morris Rosenbaum and his wife started for Provo.
July 9:	Mr. Rosenbaum started peddling.
Dec. 25, 1859:	Had all my family spending Christmas day at my home, also Henry Rosenfeld, a Jew.
April 7, 1861:	My son-in-law Rosenbaum moved to Brigham City.[4]

All young Mormon men are required to undertake a mission and Rosenbaum was sent to Germany, along with others, in 1880, where they were all arrested, imprisoned and then ordered out of that country "for preaching the gospel."[5]

Neibaur was married twice but all of his fourteen children were by his first wife. At the time of his death in 1883, he left eleven children, eighty-three grandchil-

[4] Diary of Alexander Neibaur. Ms. shown to the author by Mrs. Charles W. Nibley in 1923. The diary is now in the office of the Church Historian, Salt Lake City.

[5] Andrew Jenson, *Church Chronology, supra,* p. 106.

dren and thirteen great-grandchildren. In 1924, his descendants numbered four hundred and twenty-seven.[6]

Among the records of the Mormon Church mention is made of one David Levi, a Utah pioneer of 1852, who "was arrested at Beaver, Utah, in May, 1853 charged with u.c.[unlawful cohabitation, being the term applied to polygamy]." Indications are that he was of Jewish origin but no authentication is available.[7]

There are two instances of converted Jews who became unworthy Mormons. One of these, Levi Abrahams, renounced his ancient faith and was converted to Mormonism in 1854. A year later, at Fillmore, Utah, he became involved in an altercation with Federal Judge W. W. Drummond, during a card game. The latter ordered his Negro servant Cato to assault Abrahams; one account asserted that he was ordered to assassinate him. The attempt failed and Abrahams in turn attempted an assault on Judge Drummond. The affair occupied the attention of the courts for some time and created a scandal which later resulted in Drummond's retirement from office since his own reputation as the first Federal Judge assigned to the Territory was quite unsavory.[8] Abrahams' difficulties, however, were not at an end for, in 1855, he was put on trial for murder. The account of his trial as given by the deposed Judge Drummond may be prejudiced:

> At the November term of my court held at Fillmore City in the year 1855, one Levi Abrahams, a Jewish Mormon, was put on trial for the willful and unprovoked murder of Toebe, a favorite warrier of the Parvante Band, and during that trial much

[6] *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine,* vol. V, no. 2, *supra,* pp. 53–63.

[7] A. M. Jenson, *Church Chronology, supra,* p. 120 and supplement, p. 25.

[8] Jules Remy and Julius Brenchley, *A Journey to Great Salt Lake City* (London, 1861), vol. I, pp. 469–470; E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City, supra,* p. 145; *Utah Humanities Review,* vol. I, no. 2 (April, 1947), pp. 160–162.

> was said by both Indian and white witnesses relative to the murder of Capt. Gunnison and his party . . . In this case the jury, true to the law of the Church and basely false to the law of the land, found Abrahams not guilty.[9]

Another case of a dishonest Jew is that of Edward Isaacson, who embraced Mormonism and seemed for a time to have had the approbation of his newly-found co-religionists. After his conversion, he preached in German to Mormons of German extraction on the connection of the doctrines of the Latter-Day Saints with the ancient Israelitish Bible story and attempted to justify his acceptance of them. Some of his sermons were printed in the Church newspaper and an editorial speaks of him as "Dr. Isaacson, the Hebrew Divine."[10] What subsequently happened to him is told in two brief paragraphs by the Mormon historian Jenson:

> May 24, 1890: Edward Isaacson, an apostate Jew who came to Utah two years ago, joined the Church, married a Mormon girl and made great pretensions, was fined $50 in the Justice's Court at Provo, Utah County, for theft. Soon afterwards he left Utah.
>
> July 20, 1890: "Dr. Edward Isaacson," who had quietly returned to American Fork, Utah County, was attacked by a number of disguised residents, who intended to inflict summary punishment upon him, but he escaped and left town for good.[11]

On August 6, 1883 the trustees of Congregation B'nai Israel appointed a committee to investigate the charge

[9] John W. Gunnison, *The Mormons* (Philadelphia, 1860), Introduction, p. x. The 1860 edition of Gunnison's book was published after Gunnison's death and the above quotation was from a letter written by Drummond to Gunnison's widow. While the United States topographical engineers were engaged in surveying in southern Utah in 1853, Capt. Gunnison and seven of his party were ambushed and killed by the Indians.

[10] *Deseret News,* April 13, 17 and 20, and May 1, 1888.

[11] A. M. Jenson, *Church Chronology, supra,* pp. 185–186.

that M. Goldsticker had joined the Mormon Church. Two weeks later the committee confirmed the fact and he was expelled from membership in the Congregation.[12] To provide some rule applicable to the few Jews who had married or should marry non-Jews, the Congregation, on September 15, 1889, passed the following resolution:

> Resolved that all applicants for membership whose wives are not Israelites or any member who shall marry a non-Israelite, their families be entitled to all the rights and benefits of this Congregation provided that their wives and children embrace Judaism.[13]

This provision was particularly helpful to Isidore Morris who had married a Mormon girl who had embraced Judaism, and to Nathan Ellis, who had married the daughter of Orson Hyde, a Mormon "Elder."

[12] Minute Book, Congregation B'nai Israel (= Minute Book CBI), pp. 185–186. Most of the records of the early Jews of Utah have been lost. In 1923, we made a search which resulted in the discovery of the Minute Book in the storeroom of Kahn Bros., a wholesale grocery concern, opposite the Union Pacific Railroad station in Salt Lake City, where it had been placed by Samuel Weitz. Mr. Weitz had been the Secretary of the Congregation. The Minute Book covers the period from March, 1881, through December 18, 1899. With the consent of the present officers of the Congregation, it will be deposited in the Archives of the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati, Ohio, for preservation.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 148.

V

How They Lived

As will appear from their biographies, all of the earliest Jewish settlers of Utah, with the exception of Julius Gerson Brooks, had originally come West as young, unmarried men. In this respect their social status differed from that of their Mormon brethern among whom marriage at an early age was customary. As bachelors these young Jews, during the early years, missed the comforts and solace of family life and were sorely depressed by loneliness. Communication with their parents and families in Europe and on the eastern seaboard by letter was slow and infrequent. The difficulty of locating anyone in those days when mail was carried by stage coach or pony express is shown by an advertisement in the newspaper *Valley Tan* of July 20, 1859, the text of which reads:

> Information wanted of Wesley Klipstine who left Kansas Territory in May, 1858, for Salt Lake City or California and has not been heard from since. Any information concerning him will be thankfully received by his brother.
>
> Israel Klipstine, Nevada City,
> Nevada County, California.

During the early years these bachelors, being all merchants or clerks, slept in cramped quarters partitioned off in the rear of their stores and did their own housekeeping with the assistance of a local Mormon woman who came in daily to keep their quarters in order.[1] They took their meals at the several restaurants in the city

[1] As described to the writer by Samuel H. Auerbach and Ichel Watters.

TERRITORIAL AND CIVIL BALL,

SOCIAL HALL, FEBRUARY 7, 1860.

BILL OF FARE.

First Course.

SOUPS.

Oyster
Ox-tail
Vermicelli
Vegetable

Second Course.

MEATS.

Roast.	*Boiled.*
Beef	Sugar-corned beef
Mutton	Mutton
Mountain mutton	Chickens
Bear	Ducks
Elk	Tripe
Deer	Turkey
Chickens	Ham
Ducks	Trout
Turkeys	Salmon

STEWS AND FRICASSEES.

Oysters and Ox Tongues
Beaver tails
Collard head
Chickens
Ducks
Turkeys

VEGETABLES.

Boiled.	*Baked.*
Potatoes	Potatoes
Cabbage (*i.e.* greens)	Parsnips
Parsnips	Beans
Cauliflower	
Slaw	

Hominy

Third Course.

Pastry.	*Puddings.*
Mince pies	Custards
Green apple pie	Rice
Pineapple pie	English plum
Quince jelly pie	Apple soufflé
Peach jelly pie	Mountain
Currant jelly pie	Pioneer

Blancmange Jellies

Fourth Course.

Cakes.	*Fruits.*
Pound	Raisins
Sponge	Grapes
Gipsy	Apples
Varieties	Snowballs

Candies Nuts
Tea Coffee

MENU OF MORMON BALL, 1860

(From Richard Burton, *The City of Saints* [London, 1861])

where they found it difficult if not impossible to observe the dietary laws; they did, however, avoid pork and pork products.[2]

When Julius Gerson Brooks and his wife returned to Salt Lake City from the Pacific Coast they took in a few of the young bachelors as boarders. Later, Luis Wurzburg and his wife opened a boarding house on the north side of Third South Street between Main and State Streets and Aaron Greenewald operated a small hotel. When Simon Bamberger [who later became Governor of the State] came from Ogden to Salt Lake City he operated a hotel on the southwest corner of Main and Second South Streets, known as the "White House."[3]

Several of the Jewish merchants were engaged in the business of selling vegetables, fruits, poultry and produce, among them being Luis Wurzburg, A. Lochwitz and S. Hanak, while the Kahn brothers were among the largest of the wholesale grocers.[4] Charles Popper operated a slaughter-house.[5]

Clothing and dry-goods were expensive and scarce. When Solomon N. Carvalho arrived in Salt Lake City in 1853, he reported:

> When I arrived in the great city of the Mormons I was clad in tattered garments that I had worn for six months on my journey across the Rocky Mountains. In vain I applied to every store. A pair of black pants or a broadcloth coat was not to be purchased.[6]

[2] Concerning living conditions, see Richard Burton, *The City of the Saints* (London, 1861), pp. 388, 537; M. le Baron de Hübner, *A Ramble Round the World* (New York, 1875), p. 81.

[3] See his biography, *infra,* pp. 123–125.

[4] See their biographies, *infra,* pp. 128–130.

[5] See his biography, *infra,* pp. 134–135.

[6] Solomon Nunes Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West; with Col. Frémont's Last Expedition Across the Rocky Mountains:*

The demand for wearing apparel and housekeeping goods increased as the population increased and it was this demand which caused the large influx of Jewish merchants into Utah in the early 1860's.

The number of sets of brothers among the early Jews in Utah is unique and worthy of explanation. Among them were two Ransohoffs, three Watters, two Kahns, three Auerbachs, two Kuhns, three Ellises, four Simons, three Siegels, two Hirschmans, two Boukofskys, four Bambergers and two Cohns. It was the custom among Jewish families in Europe for the eldest brother to leave for America first. After he had established himself he would send home funds wherewith the younger brothers in turn were enabled to follow. The eldest brother thus became the mentor, guide and backer of the younger ones.

As their earnings and savings made it possible, the Jewish bachelors contemplated their long cherished dreams of marrying and establishing homes. There were scarcely any Jewish girls of marriageable age in Utah, but most of the men had maintained contact with sweethearts in their homes in Europe or in cities in the East. Some of them, like Ichel Watters, made the long, tedious and expensive journey to their European homes to secure a bride. It did indeed require considerable urging to overcome the reluctance of parents to have their daughters depart for a region which was pictured by them as a wilderness infested with wild Indians. Thus it came about that during the early 1870's a small community of married couples came into being in Utah and the hopes of these men to lead a normal life and raise families were at last realized.

Most of the Jews who ultimately settled in Salt Lake

Including Three Months' Residence in Utah, and a Perilous Trip Across the Great American Desert, to the Pacific (New York, 1857), p. 155.

City had previously tried their fortunes in other localities in the Far West; but once in Utah, they settled down permanently not only because it offered opportunities for success in their various callings but also attractions due to its physical aspects. The climate was salubrious and the consciousness of witnessing the growth and development of a new community gave a sense of zest and pride which only a pioneer people could appreciate and enjoy. There were ample facilities for outdoor amusements and recreation. The resorts on the south shore of the Great Salt Lake, "Garfield Beach" and "Black Rock," offered facilities for bathing in water so saturated with mineral salts that one could float without effort. Here on Sundays and holidays it was customary for whole families to enjoy bathing, play games and dance to the music of local orchestras. Nearby there were hot thermal springs whose curative properties were highly prized. Several mountain canyons were almost at their doors for fishing and camping. The celebrated old Salt Lake Theatre provided excellent entertainment and the great organ and choir at the "Tabernacle" satisfied their craving for music.

Thus there might have been nothing to disturb the peace and prosperity of the settlers. But, unfortunately the pages of the history of Utah are stained with periods of lawlessness and disorder. These might well be passed over but for the fact that they involved all of the people, including the Jews, and engendered hatreds and prejudices which thankfully have now disappeared.

Lawlessness and violence in the pioneer days in the West were not confined to Utah; they were commonplace in settlements from the Kansas border to the Pacific coast. Suppression of crime by groups, termed "Vigilantes" in California and Montana, is well known. In Utah, however the clashes between factions were not

those of the law against law-breakers. The situation was complicated through the existence of a predominant religious group against whom prejudice added fire to every event. That the minor complement of the population, the Jews, should have been involved is understandable by recalling that in Utah the Jews were always looked upon and included in the category of "Gentiles." In evaluating the responsibility for these regrettable episodes one must, in all fairness, bear in mind the reasons for the migration of the Mormon people from their well-established homes in Missouri and Illinois to the desolate and forbidding region bordering on the shores of Great Salt Lake. They had been driven from those States by unbridled violence of mobs who had shown no mercy and had given no quarter. It is a well established fact that the site in Utah was chosen by them in the belief that here they would be free from further harassment by their enemies. But, hardly had they established themselves in their new homeland, when fate played them a trick which threatened the disruption of their plans, the invasion of their dearly won privacy and the threat of yet another flight to an even more remote region.

The discovery of gold in California started a stampede to the West which made use of Salt Lake City as a stopping off place and refitting station en route to the Pacific coast. Some of these California bound travellers remained but a few days or weeks; others who arrived too late to continue the journey over the Sierra Nevada Mountains, remained over the winter. The presence and conduct of these men had little in common with the religious decorum of the Mormon people, but any disorder caused by them was of a temporary nature. However, during the mid-sixties, the development of the mineral resources of the Territory brought in a considerable body of miners

and others termed "outsiders" who came to stay. Friction between the Mormons and the newcomers increased and was abetted by the nation-wide crusade against the practice of polygamy, or plural marriage, by the Mormons.[7] The Mormons justified polygamy, among other reasons, on the ground that it had been prevalent among the early Israelites but, because of it, they became the butt of coarse and indecent remarks frequently made openly and vulgarly by the new comers. The crusade of the Christian churches throughout the country demanding Federal legislation against polygamy resulted in laws which filled the penitentiary with prominent Mormon disciples and caused others to "go underground."

Almost from the beginning of the Mormon settlement in Utah antagonistic Federal authorities took advantage of every opportunity to curb their influence in the region. On three occasions, the Territory of Utah was stripped of considerable portions of its area for the benefit of neighboring states and Utah was long denied statehood which was granted to other western Territories with smaller populations. Being a Territory, its officials were appointed by the President of the United States from among his political supporters in the East. These included the governor, the federal judges and the prosecuting officers. All of these factors combined to engender bitterness which soon reacted in violence.

Street brawls and shooting duels began as early as 1859 after the coming of General Albert Sydney Johnston's army when the vilest passions of both soldiers and Mormons were released and life and property, for a time, were very insecure in Salt Lake City. During that summer a murder was committed there almost every week and

[7] Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1892), vol. II, pp. 59, 97, 110.

rarely were the criminals brought to justice.[8] A local newspaper thought it perceived a temporary lull when, in September, 1859, it commented:

> We are glad that we have little or no city news this week . . . No murders, burglaries, street fights, fires or rowdyism to chronicle.

But a few paragraphs later it proceeded to chronicle a case of assault and battery, a highway robbery, another shooting affray and some minor offenses.[9] Editorially it commented:

> We can see no shadow of excuse for drawing and threatening presentation of revolvers or bowie knives upon the occasion of every insult, real or imaginary. We have plenty of law in the Territory . . . (both) military and civil.[10]

As tempers mounted on both sides, individualities were forgotten in the clash of factions. The Jews knew persecution only too well; but being "Gentiles" in Utah they did not escape involvement in these clashes. Two of them, Charles Popper and Ichel Watters, were cruelly beaten up, the latter on two occasions.[11] During the height of the ill feeling the non-Mormon population walked the streets at night fully armed and avoided walking on the sidewalks.[12]

Most of the Federal officials and some of the Jewish residents of the city moved to the Seventh Ward in the south-western part of the city where the first non-Mormon public school was established. Many of them occupied houses erected by Louis Reggel whose "Reggel's

[8] T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints, supra,* p. 417.
[9] *Ibid.,* p. 419.
[10] Salt Lake *Telegraph,* Oct. 7, 1864.
[11] Salt Lake *Reporter,* Oct. 22, 1869, and July 28, 1870.
[12] As told the writer by the late Henry W. Lawrence and the late Ichel Watters. Cf. T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints, supra,* p. 419.

Row" was the first multi-family house in the city. In this vicinity, in 1885, was enacted a scene which illustrated the uncontrolled hatred of the Mormons for the Federal authorities. On the night of September 13, 1885, the homes of these officials were bombarded with Mason jars filled with offal hurled through the windows of the sleeping occupants. The scene the next morning was indescribable.[13]

The kindnesses which Brigham Young had shown the Jewish people on many occasions caused them to regret their involvement in the clashes between the factions. Young, in his reply to the petition of the Gentile merchants (including the Jews) in which they offered to leave the Territory, denied any prejudice against either Christian or Jew.[14] In the end, the heads of the Mormon church disclaimed and forbade the further practice of polygamy, thus, forever removing this as a cause for antagonism. When Utah was finally admitted to Statehood, bitterness and hatred gradually subsided, and a Jew ultimately became its Governor.

[13] Salt Lake *Tribune, Extra,* Sept. 14, 1885.
[14] See *infra,* pp. 50 ff.

VI

Commercial Development

THE MORMON ATTITUDE TOWARD BUSINESS

The Territory of Utah offered exceptional opportunities to merchants in the early days because the Mormons were essentially an agricultural people. The intention of their leaders was to form a self-contained community with business and trade confined to the narrowest limits commensurate with the attainment thereof. The needs of their people were to be met by such local industries as were deemed adequate to supply them with their bare necessities.[1] Indeed, had the Mormon settlement in Utah been left undisturbed, there is a strong likelihood that a unique communal experiment might have developed there.

Long before the Mormons had come to Utah their prophet and founder, Joseph Smith, had advocated such a system and, under the titles "The United Order" or "The Order of Enoch," it had actually been tried by his adherents in Ohio and Missouri and had been attempted in a small way in three settlements after they had arrived in Utah. The doctrine of the consecration of property and of its common ownership as practiced by Enoch and his followers, was unquestionably intended to be put into

[1] Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1892), vol. I, pp. 83–85, 495; vol. II, pp. 106–107; Joseph A. Geddes, *The United Order Among the Mormons* (Salt Lake City, 1924).

operation by the Mormon founders of Utah. It is expressed in their "Articles of Faith" as follows:

> The voice of the Lord had been heard on the subject of consecration, or the dedication of all one's property, together with his time, talents and natural endowments to the service of God, to be used as the occasion may require. This again is not new; to the present dispensation the law of consecration is given as a re-enactment. . . . The same principle had been practiced by the patriarch Enoch and his people. . . . And they had all things common among them, therefore they were not rich and poor, bond and free, but they were all made free and partakers of the heavenly gift . . . A system of unity in temporal matters has been revealed to the Church in this day; such is currently known as the Order of Enoch, or the United Order.[2]

The very day after the Mormons had arrived in Utah, Brigham Young had declared that no person should be permitted to buy any land and that every man should have measured out for him land for home and farm purposes by the Church authorities. Commenting on this at a later date, the historian Edward W. Tullidge, wrote:

> There is a new social system nascent in this diary note. The note signifies that President Young and his pioneer compeers, at that time contemplated the building up of a Zion in these Rocky Mountains on the "perfect plan," or the Order of Enoch, laid down by the Prophet, Joseph Smith, to construct for his followers a new social system.[3]

Lieutenant John W. Gunnison, of the United States Topographical Engineers, who was there in 1852, observed that:

> They delight to call their system of government a "Theo-De-

[2] J. E. Talmage, *The Articles of Faith, supra,* pp. 451–454.

[3] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City, supra,* p. 632. Cf. New York *Tribune,* July 8, 1849.

mocracy" and that, in a civil capacity, they stand as the Israelites of old under Moses.[3]

Many years later, in 1875, Brigham Young and other directors of the Mormon co-operative enterprise, which they were then establishing in Utah, issued a circular in which they expressed their views of the evils of the accumulation of great wealth and power in the hands of the few, which is singularly similar to the views of some of our present day reformers.

To become a merchant was to antagonize the Church and her policies. Thus it was almost illegitimate for enterprising Mormons to engage in mercantile pursuits.[4]

TITHING

Tithing, or the giving of a part of one's income to the Church, was established by the Mormons in accord with the Mosaic dispensation.[5] It required that each member of the Church contribute one-tenth of his or her income towards its support. The farmer paid with an equivalent of grain or produce and the laborer by giving a stated number of days service for the common good. Produce offered as tithing in lieu of cash was delivered and accumulated at the "Tithing Yard" which occupied the site of the present Hotel Utah in Salt Lake City. Part payment of wages and salaries of Mormon employees was made in what was called "tithing script." This script was accepted by Gentile merchants, though at a discount, in payment for merchandise and could be used for securing produce at the Tithing Yard.

[3] J. W. Gunnison, *The Mormons, supra,* p. 23.

[4] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City, supra,* pp. 382, 727–728; O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. I, p. 500.

[5] J. E. Talmage, *Articles of Faith, supra,* p. 447.

Because of the scarcity of cash money much business was carried on by barter and produce was accepted even for theatre tickets.[6] Willingness to accept produce in lieu of money continued for many years.[7]

Resistance to the payment of tithing by a few of the wealthy Mormons was a contributing factor to their withdrawal from the Church. The most prominent of those who became "apostates" were the Walker brothers who, with the Jennings brothers, were the wealthiest of the early Mormon merchants.[8]

THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD AND ITS EFFECTS

The discovery of gold in California and the rush of gold seekers to the Pacific coast, in 1849, brought a quick and radical change in the situation of the Mormon settlers in Utah. These California bound emigrants, after reaching the Missouri River, had more than a thousand miles to travel over the plains and through the Rocky Mountains before reaching Great Salt Lake City. The average time required for the journey was seventy-five days, for the wagon trains made only about fifteen miles a day. By the time they reached Utah both men and animals were weary and short of supplies. They still had ahead of them some eight hundred miles through an alkali desert and over the Sierra Nevada Mountains to reach the California gold fields, and they took advantage of the facilities available at Salt Lake to recuperate and re-outfit. The Mormons had by this time raised forage, oats, produce and some horses and cattle which were eagerly bought by the transients for cash. As a result the Mormon populace now

[6] Samuel Bowles, *Our New West* (Hartford, 1869), pp. 230–231.

[7] *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), Feb. 15, 1865.

[8] T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints, supra,* pp. 623–625; Ms. PF30, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

had money for purchasing supplies and materials of eastern manufacture.

Many of the gold seekers and prospective merchants en route to California had left the East too late in the season or had been delayed en route. When they reached Salt Lake they learned that emigrants who had taken the Panama route had already reached the gold fields in California and would thus have an advantage over them. In Salt Lake they saw for the first time bags of gold dust and gold nuggets which had been brought from California to Utah, the sight of which fired their determination to get there without loss of time. They were eager to exchange their heavy wagons for light ones and their jaded animals for fresh ones at any price. Those carrying merchandise intended for sale in California believed that they were too late for the market there. Accordingly they hastened to sell it to the Mormons.[9]

The immediate effect of the gold rush was to furnish the Mormon people with much needed manufactured articles at very reasonable prices and to place cash in their hands with which to make future purchases. But it had other and far reaching effects which were to be made apparent during the next two decades. It ended forever their isolation from the rest of the nation, for Utah was directly in the path of emigration to the Pacific coast region. Utah had a firmly settled and permanent population which was being continually augmented by converts from the eastern United States and from Europe, for the Mormon missionaries were both active and successful. Since the Mormons were primarily an agricultural people, it was obvious that Utah offered in the coming years a rare opportunity to merchants to supply their needs.

[9] Quoted by O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah,* vol. 1, *supra,* p. 401.

Their eyes had also been opened to the mineral wealth that lay untouched in their mountains which was bound to attract the attention of others. Since the Mormons themselves had, up to now, discouraged both business and mining it was clear that these fields would be availed of by "outsiders."

THE EARLIEST MERCHANTS

All of the earliest merchants in Utah were non-Mormons and the earliest of these of any consequence was the firm of Livingston & Kinkead who opened a store with a stock of some $20,000 in merchandise in 1849.[10] They were immediately successful and, when asked what profit they made on their sales, Livingston answered: "I charge as much as my conscience will allow."[11] They were followed a year later by Holliday & Warner and shortly thereafter by John and Enoch Reese, J. M. Horner & Co., and Gilbert & Gerrish. The last named firm reported that they had sold $17,000 worth of goods in a single day.

The first Mormon merchant was William Nixon who had come to Salt Lake from England where he had joined the Church. He was called the "father of Utah merchants" for under him were trained the young men who were later to enter the mercantile field.[12] The careers of all of the above firms were comparatively short but in 1858 two sets of brothers, the Jennings brothers and the Walker brothers opened businesses which were not only destined to survive but which brought to their owners the title of "merchant princes." Both of these families were Mormons of English descent and they maintained

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 498.

[11] Sarah Hollister Harris, *An Unwritten Chapter of Salt Lake* (New York, 1901), privately printed.

[12] O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra*, vol. I, p. 499.

elaborate homes and gardens in Salt Lake City which were comparable to those of English gentry.[13]

The earliest Jewish merchants who came to and remained in Utah were Nicholas S. Ransohoff, who came early in 1858, and Samuel Kahn, who arrived a year later. Julius Gerson Brooks had come in the summer of 1854 but, after remaining about three years, had gone to California, Oregon and Idaho before returning to Salt Lake City to settle permanently.[14] Ransohoff operated not only as a merchant but also as a freighter of goods across the plains. For a time he enjoyed a close relationship with the Mormon authorities and engaged in several business transactions with Brigham Young. Kahn also engaged in freighting and established one of the largest wholesale grocery concerns in the Territory.

It was not, however, until the mid-sixties that most of the Jewish merchants arrived in Utah for it was then that the increase in population and wealth and the development of the mining industry attracted them from California and Nevada.

THE ARRIVAL OF JOHNSTON'S ARMY AND ITS EFFECTS

By the year 1857 agitation against the Mormon rule in the Territory of Utah had reached such heights that the Federal Government felt impelled to send United States Army troops to Utah with the avowed purpose "to give the new civil officials a *posse comitatus* to secure and maintain for them the offices to which they had been appointed." But behind this statement of purpose was the rumor prevalent in Washington that the Mormons were in a state of rebellion against the authority of the United

[13] T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints, supra,* p. 622; S. Bowles, *Across the Continent, supra,* pp. 267–268; *Deseret News,* July 20, 1935.

[14] See the biographies of Brooks, Ransohoff and Kahn, *infra,* pp. 123–130.

States.[15] Accordingly a Federal Army under the command of General Albert Sydney Johnston was ordered to Utah by President James Buchanan in 1857. It consisted of some 2,500 soldiers with full equipment and supplies for six months. To supply the meat for the army an attempt was made to accompany it with two thousand beef cattle to be driven on foot to Utah. The Mormon authorities resented the assertion of disloyalty and looked upon the coming of the troops as an unjustified attempt to intimidate them. At Brigham Young's order the Federal troops were ambushed in the mountain passes by Mormon guerrillas and their supply trains destroyed. It was only after an agreement was reached defining the intentions of the troops that the army was permitted to pass through Salt Lake City and encamp some distance west of the city where they established "Camp Floyd."

The coming of Johnston's army ushered in a new era in the business life of the community, for the soldiers were "free spenders." In 1860, General Johnston and part of his army was ordered to the Potomac and a year later the last of the troops left Utah.[16] All of the enormous store of surplus supplies was ordered to be sold and much of their heavy equipment was destroyed. The purchase of these supplies at a fraction of their value laid the foundation for the fortunes of several of the local merchants.[17] Supplies which had cost the Government $4,000,000 were sold for $100,000.[18] Evidences of gross corruption by Government contractors were uncovered. When the troops

[15] O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. I, pp. 603–663; H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco, 1890), pp. 497–537.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. I, p. 721; T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints, supra,* pp. 622–625.

[18] H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah, supra,* p. 575. See also E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City, supra,* p. 62.

were in Utah, a Washington contractor with political connections secured a contract to supply flour to them at $28.40 per hundred pounds. The exorbitant price was explained to the army authorities as being justified because the flour would have to be transported by wagon from the Missouri River to Utah. The shrewd contractor, however, purchased the flour directly in Utah from the local firms for $6.00 per hundred pounds and thus made a fabulous profit. When the troops abandoned Camp Floyd what remained of this flour was sold by the Government to local merchants at 52 cents per hundred pounds.[19] Brigham Young bought $40,000 worth of army surplus and the Jewish merchant, Nicholas S. Ransohoff, is reputed to have advanced him $30,000 with which to purchase army pork.[20]

A second stimulus to local business came with the arrival in 1863 of Colonel Patrick E. Connor with his California Volunteers and with the establishment of Fort Douglas on the "Bench," overlooking Salt Lake City. Once again the trade of the soldiers brought business to the merchants and the presence of the troops gave the Gentiles a sense of security.

THE INFLUX OF MERCHANTS

Nearly all of the Jewish merchants who came to Utah during the mid-sixties had previously settled in mining camps in California, having reached these settlements via Panama or "Around the Horn." As the mining excitement in California subsided competition grew keener and the mining camps offered little attraction for permanent settlement. The discovery of the "Comstock Lode" in

[19] H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah, supra,* p. 575.
[20] J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah* (Philadelphia, 1870), p. 200.

1859 drew some of them to Virginia City, Austin and other mining camps in Nevada. For a time business flourished there but, as in California, the boom subsided, the miners left and their former settlements became "ghost towns." Thus, it came about that these merchants, tired of the hectic life of the mining camps, looked for a more stable community in which to settle, to make their homes and to seek their fortunes.

Salt Lake City had become known as "The Half-Way House" between the Missouri and the Pacific coast and its fame as a place for permanent settlement was likewise recognized. Its situation among the mountains was attractive and its climate healthful. In addition to the trade of the Mormon people there was a constantly growing trade with the neighboring territories and with the many transients. The Auerbach brothers, on arriving in 1864, found the Mormon officials friendly and the opportunities for business promising. So also did those who came a year or two later. Among these were Henry, Joseph and Solomon Siegel, Ichel and Abraham Watters, Nathan and James Ellis, Charles Popper and others.[21]

At this period all of the merchants were enjoying prosperity, some in a large measure, others moderately, but all made a comfortable living. A local newspaper thus describes the business situation in 1864:

> The changes in Main Street have been going on with great rapidity; every foot of ground seems to be claimed for commercial purposes. The sound of the chisel and hammer falls upon the ear from every direction. In a few weeks that street will be crowded with merchandise and will present an appearance of a metropolitan mart. Gilbert has his first train and was crowded with new goods and customers; looked as bland as the palmiest days of yore. The Ransohoffs are expecting a rich

[21] See their biographies, *infra*, pp. 134–135, 138–139, 142 ff.

and heavy stock. Siegel & Co., a new house, has got an early advance and are opening up to the wholesale trade. Jennings is ripe with certainty; he has just heard from [Fort] Bridger that his first train had arrived at that place; his second train was about at Green River; his third train would be in about the twentieth and his other trains were leaving Atchison [Kansas]. When Hooper & Eldridge, Kimball & Lawrence, Bourne & Needham, Chislett & Clark, Bassett & Roberts, Brigham "Y," Bodenberg & Kahn and a host of others, who are yet to make their names familiar to the people, and our special friend Godbe, come in with all their huge piles, we will most assuredly have enough to last a while.[22]

The Jewish firms mentioned above, Ransohoff, Bodenberg & Kahn, the Siegels and others, had enjoyed cordial relations with the Mormon people. However, since the Jews in Utah were classed with the "Gentiles," they could not escape the consequences of the nation-wide attack on the Mormons which was rapidly approaching a climax.

THE NON-MORMON MERCHANTS PROPOSE TO LEAVE

The bitterness between the factions in Utah in the year 1866 had reached such a height that the Gentiles feared not only for their future as merchants but also for their personal security as residents of the Territory.[23] The seriousness of the situation can best be described by quoting from the writings of the historian, Orson F. Whitney, who was himself a Mormon of prominence. Early in 1866, in three weeks,[24] there had been three shootings of non-Mormons with intent to kill. The preaching at the Tabernacle against dealing with non-Mormons had become intensified. In March of that year, S. Newton Brassfield, a Gentile from Nevada, who had come to Salt Lake City

[22] Salt Lake City *Telegraph*, July 16, 1864.
[23] See chapter V, "How They Lived," *supra*, pp. 28–36.
[24] O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, *supra*, vol. II, pp. 143–145.

to engage in business, had married a plural wife of a Mormon. He was shot dead on the night of April 2nd, while entering his boarding house. Dr. J. King Robinson, who was prominent in anti-Mormon activities, was murdered during the night of October 22nd by a band of six or seven men. These murders were charged to the Mormons. The Gentile community became panic-stricken. Whitney wrote of this period:

> Much bitterness of feeling was now manifested between the two classes of the community. Many Gentiles persisted in the belief, which they did not hesitate to express, that the purpose of the Mormons was to compel them to leave the Territory and that the Brassfield and Robinson murders were events indicating a settled policy in that direction. This, the Mormons indignantly denied, asserting still their innocence, as a people, of those crimes, and denouncing as a slander the charge that they were bent upon compelling a Gentile exodus. That there were a class of men in the Territory whom the Saints regarded as enemies, and did not care how soon they departed, was admitted. . . . It is true however, that so far as that particular class was concerned, the Saints, or their leaders, had hit upon a plan which they hoped would have the effect of weakening if not dissolving what they deemed an organized opposition to the peace and welfare of the community. It was to boycott such of the Gentile merchants and traders as, it was believed, were conspiring against the best interests of the people.

The appended correspondence, between the non-Mormon merchants of Salt Lake City and President Brigham Young, a few weeks after the lamentable tragedy last narrated, speaks for itself:

PETITION OF THE GENTILE MERCHANTS
TO THE LEADERS OF THE MORMON CHURCH

> Gentlemen: As you are instructing the people of Utah, through your Bishops and missionaries, not to trade or do any business with the Gentile merchants, thereby intimidating and coercing

the community to purchase only of such merchants as belong to your faith and persuasion, in anticipation of such a crisis being successfully brought about by your teachings, the undersigned Gentile merchants of Great Salt Lake City respectfully desire to make you the following proposition, believing it to be your earnest desire for all to leave the country who do not belong to your faith and creed, namely: On fulfillment of the conditions herein named: First—The payment of our outstanding accounts owing us by members of your church; Secondly—All of our goods, merchandise, chattels, houses, improvements, etc., to be taken at cash valuation, and we make a deduction of twenty-five per cent from the total amount. To the fulfillment of the above we hold ourselves ready at any time to enter into negotiations, and on final arrangements being made and terms of sale complied with, we shall freely leave the Territory.

Respectfully Yours,

Walker Bros.,	Gilbert & Sons,
Bodenburg & Kahn,	Wm. Sloan,
C. Prag, of the firm of Ransohoff & Co.,	Ellis Bros., by J. M. Ellis,
J. Meeks,	McGrorty & Henry,
Siegel Bros.,	F. Auerbach & Bros.,
L. Cohn & Co.,	Oliver Durant,
Klopstock & Co.,	S. Lesser & Bros.,
Glucksman & Cohn,	John H. McGrath,
Morse, Walcott & Co.,	Wilkinson & Fenn,
J. Bauman & Co.,	I. Watters,
Morris Elgutter,	M. B. Callahan,

Thomas D. Brown & Sons

Great Salt Lake City, Dec. 20, 1866.[25]

Here was a unique situation in that the entire group of merchants who were not of the predominant faith proposed to leave a Territory of the United States and abandon business to the sole control of one sect, the Mor-

[25] O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. II, pp. 164–165.

mons. Had the offer been accepted, and had the merchants left, there is little doubt but that the remaining Gentile population would have followed them. It is doubtful if the signers of the petition had much hope that their offer to sell out to the Mormon authorities would be accepted. It is more probable that their intent was to draw the attention of the country, and especially of the Federal authorities at Washington, to a situation in Utah which was becoming intolerable.

Brigham Young's reply to the petitioners was given the day after he received it. It is important in that it covers the views of the Mormon church concerning the existing situation in Utah.

PRESIDENT YOUNG'S REPLY

Gentlemen: Your communication of December 20th, addressed to "The Leaders of the Mormon Church" was received by me last evening. In reply, I have to say that we will not obligate ourselves to collect your outstanding accounts, nor buy your goods, merchandise and other articles that you express your willingness to sell. If you could make such sales as you propose, you would make more money than any merchants have ever done in this country and we, as merchants, would like to find purchasers upon the same basis.

Your withdrawal from the Territory is not a matter about which we feel any anxiety; so far as we are concerned, you are at liberty to stay or go, as you please. We have used no intimidation or coercion toward the community to have them cease trading with any person or class, neither do we contemplate using any such means, even could we do so, to accomplish such an end. What we are doing and intending to do, we are willing that you and all the world should know.

In the first place, we wish you to distinctly understand that we have not sought to ostracise any man or body of men because of their not being of our faith. The wealth that has been accumulated in this Territory from the earliest years of our settlement by men who were not connected with us religiously,

and the success which has attended their business operations prove this: In business we have not been exclusive in our dealings, or confined our patronage to those of our own faith. But every man who has dealt fairly and honestly, and confined his attention to his legitimate business, whatever his creed has been, has found friendship in us. To be adverse to Gentiles because they are Gentiles, or Jews because they are Jews, is in direct opposition to the genius of our religion. It matters not what a man's creed is, whether he be Catholic, or Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Quaker or Jew, he will receive kindness and friendship from us, and we have not the least objection to doing business with him; if, in his dealings he act in accordance with the principles of right and deport himself as a good, law abiding citizen should. There is a class, however, who are doing business in the Territory, who for many years have been the avowed enemies of this community. The disrupture and overthrow of the community have been the objects which they have pertinaciously sought to accomplish. They have, therefore, used every energy and all the means at their command to put into circulation the foulest slanders about the old citizens. Missionaries of evil, they have no arts too base, no stratagems too vile for them to use to bring about their nefarious ends. While soliciting the patronage of the people and deriving their support from them, they have in the most shameless and abandoned manner used the means thus obtained to destroy the very people whose favor they found it to their interest to court. With the regularity of the seasons have their plots and schemes been formed; and we are warranted by facts in saying that, could the heart's blood of the people here be drawn, and could be coined into the means necessary to bring their machinations to a successful issue, they would not scruple to use it. They have done all in their power to encourage violations of law, to retard the administration of justice, to foster vice and vicious institutions, to oppose the unanimously expressed will of the people, to increase disorder, and change our city from a condition of peace and quietude to lawlessness and anarchy. They have donated liberally to sustain a corrupt and venal press, which has given publicity to the most atrocious libels respecting the old citizens. And have they not had their

emissaries in Washington to misrepresent and vilify the people of this Territory? Have they not kept liquor, and surreptitiously sold it in violation of law and endeavored to bias the minds of the Judiciary to give decisions favorable to their own practices? What claims can such persons have upon the patronage of this community, and what community on earth would be so besotted as to uphold and foster men whose aim is to destroy them? Have we not the right to trade at whatever store we please, or does the Constitution of the United States bind us to enter the stores of our deadliest enemies and purchase of them? If so, we would like that provision pointed out to us. It is to these men whom I have described, and to these alone, that I am opposed, and I am determined to use my influence to have the citizens here stop dealing with them and deal with honorable men. There are honorable men enough in the world with whom we can do business, without being reduced to dealing with the class referred to. I have much more to say upon this subject.

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

Great Salt Lake City, Dec. 21st, 1866.[26]

Brigham Young's remark to the effect that he had much more to say on the subject was soon made apparent in a complete reversal of the attitude of the Church toward engaging in business. Even though he had preached a sermon in the Tabernacle during the very year when he had written the above letter denouncing "those who give themselves up to merchandising and love it better than God," yet a number of Mormons had engaged in business and had acquired wealth thereby. Among these were the Walker Brothers, the Jennings Brothers, William S. Godbe and Henry W. Lawrence. Of these, all except the Jennings Brothers ultimately left the Church. From the earliest days the temptation to engage in business was too great to be resisted. The profits were large even though the risks were likewise great. It was evident

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 165–167.

to the Mormon authorities that the profits being derived from merchandising were large and even exorbitant. It has already been noted that as early as 1849, Mr. Livingston, of the pioneer firm of Livingston & Kinkead, had said that he "charged as much as his conscience would allow." In 1852, John Urie, in describing the situation in southern Utah, wrote:

> Itinerant merchants with elastic consciences, would sell us sugar at $1 a pound, tea at $5 a pound, prints at $1 a yard and a hundred other articles were sold at from 100 to 5,000 per cent profit.[27]

In that same year the *Deseret News* reported that "traders in our midst . . . are selling their goods as high as they can, even from 200 to 10,000 per cent profit."[28] Burton stated that in 1861 Gentile merchants made from 120 to 600 per cent profit on their invested capital.[29] Samuel Bowles, who was in Salt Lake City in 1865, wrote that several firms did a business of a million or more dollars a year and that one concern made 75 per cent profit that year.[30] All of these facts, plus the growing resentment against the "outsiders" were soon to give rise to an adventure which threatened the continuance of the Gentile merchants.

THE MORMON CHURCH ENTERS THE BUSINESS FIELD

The situation which was now developing in Utah received much attention in the local press and is described at much length in books dealing with its history. However, to escape the possibility of bias, we shall refer to

[27] Ms. PF-10, p. 98, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.
[28] *Deseret News*, Nov. 8, 1852.
[29] R. Burton, *The City of the Saints, supra*, p. 284.
[30] S. Bowles, *Across the Continent, supra*, p. 101.

the comments of the Mormon historian, Orson F. Whitney, who describes the existing situation as follows:

> A new commercial era was about to open upon the Territory. Such a thing could least of all escape the far-seeing eye of Brigham Young, in whose hopes and desires and in those of his coadjutors, the temporal welfare of the people was so closely intertwined with the spiritual, as to be wholly inseparable. . . . For years the burden of the Tabernacle discourses had been "Trade with and sustain your friends; let your enemies have none of your substance with which to work your downfall." . . .[31] It is true that up to this time the line had not been religiously drawn, for among the Gentile merchants were many who in their social and business intercourse with the Saints had won their confidence and were numbered among their friends. . . .[32] As the railway project became more tangible there were threats and rumors, at first vague but afterwards definite and openly avowed, that that great civilizing agency would be used to break in pieces the Mormon Church. The Saints, being deprived of their exclusiveness, disintegration, it was thought, would set in and their homogeneity with the rest of the country accomplished.[33]

In such an atmosphere it was but natural that the idea developed that the Church should take over control of business. It was absorbing the wealth of the people and concentrating a great part of it in the hands of "outsiders." The time had arrived for the Mormons to go into business in a large way by the formation of a co-operative organization under their ownership and control.

> In the midst of a community prepared by interest, instinct or training to support it, co-operation in mercantile affairs could be made the grandest and most beneficial reform in all history of commerce.[34]

[31] O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. II, p. 278.
[32] *Ibid.,* p. 279.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid.,* p. 276.

Accordingly, in the fall of 1868, a meeting of the Mormon merchants was called by Brigham Young at which they were told that the time had come when an organization should be created for importing and distributing merchandise on a comprehensive plan, to preserve the temporal unity of the Mormon people.[35] In the October conference a resolution was adopted pledging the people to be self-sustaining. The interpretation of this, according to President Young's discourse at that time was that "a Latter-Day Saint should not trade with an outsider." To the latter class, a policy of this kind meant little less than financial ruin.[36]

THE ZION'S CO-OPERATIVE MERCANTILE INSTITUTION

Out of these conferences there emerged during the winter of 1868–1869, what is claimed to have been the first mercantile co-operative movement of any size west of the Missouri River. It was successful from the start and has continued so to this day. It was to be known as the "Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution" (popularly designated as the "Z.C.M.I."). The preamble explained the reasons for its formation and its object:

> The inhabitants of Utah, convinced of the impolicy of leaving the trade and commerce of their Territory to be conducted by strangers, have resolved, in public meeting assembled, to unite in a system of co-operation for the transaction of their own business and, for the better accomplishment of this purpose, have adopted the following:[37]

[35] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City, supra,* p. 388.

[36] O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. II, p. 279.

[37] Minute Book of the Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Association, Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, Salt Lake City; E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City, supra,* pp. 727–728.

Then follows a long tabulation of its aims and purposes of which the more important are: It was to carry on business in Salt Lake City and in such other places as might be determined by the Board. Its capital stock was to be $3,000,000, which might be increased to $5,000,000, divided into shares of $100 each. It provided that:

> No person shall be eligible for membership except that they be of good moral character and have paid their tithing according to the rules of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The Directors shall tithe its net profits prior to any declaration of dividends.[38]

The decision having been made to form the co-operative enterprise, the directors proceeded to purchase seven existing mercantile enterprises all of which were owned by Mormons, with one exception. Oddly enough, the single non-Mormon store purchased was that of the Jew, Nicholas S. Ransohoff. Various reasons have been assigned for choosing Ransohoff from among all of the Gentile concerns in the city. One was that he owned the best stone structure; but it was generally believed that it grew out of the friendship and business ties which existed between this Jewish merchant and Brigham Young.[39] Another curious incident occurred when a branch of the Z.C.M.I. was to be established in the city of Provo. At the time a business existed there which was a partnership composed of a Mormon, Samuel O. Jones, and a Jew, Ben Bachman. Bachman was popular with the people, but "he stood outside of the pale" and the co-operative institution desired to purchase this flourishing business. The Mormon historian described the situa-

[38] *Ibid.*
[39] J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah, supra,* p. 200.

tion as "a ticklish business," but it was finally settled to the satisfaction of the parties concerned.

Before describing the effect of the formation of the Z.C.M.I. upon the Gentile and Jewish merchants, some information as to its success should be helpful. During the first six years of its existence the Z.C.M.I. purchased goods to the amount of $15,000,000 from eastern manufacturers and jobbers. Moreover, during the first four and a half years after it started in business it paid to its stockholders dividends amounting to 78 per cent of the cost of their stock and laid aside, to be added to its capital, 52 per cent as a reserve, making in all 130 per cent. Thus, a stockholder who had invested $1,000 in March, 1869, had by October 1, 1873, seen his stock increased to $1,617, not counting his dividends in cash which, in the same space of time, amounted to $1,378.50. Hence the stockholder who had deposited $1,000 in the institution when it started could, four and a half years later, have sold stock to the amount of $617, collected dividends to the amount of $1,378.50 and made an actual profit of $1,995.50 or almost 200 per cent on his original investment, and still have had his original $1,000 intact.[40] By 1881, the total sales of the Z.C.M.I. since its organization aggregated nearly $70,000,000 and dividends of over $2,000,000 had been paid to its stockholders.[41] In the year 1883 its sales were in excess of $4,000,000 and it had redeemed obligations of $1,000,000 incurred during the panic of 1873.

Simultaneously with the opening of the Z.C.M.I., steps were taken to discourage the Mormon people from dealing with "Gentile" merchants. To this end they were exhorted at services preached in the Tabernacle and in

[40] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City, supra,* pp. 728–732.
[41] O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. II, p. 293.

the Ward meeting houses, to confine their purchases to the newly acquired co-operative stores. Specially designed signs were conspicuously mounted over the entrances of all Mormon stores (which were used by the Z.C.M.I. previous to the completion of its own large structure), bearing the legend "Holiness to the Lord, Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution" and with the insignia of "the all-seeing eye."[42] A Gentile merchant, J. K. Trumbo, attempted to cast ridicule upon these insignia by mounting a spurious imitation above the entrance of his store, but it was torn down by a group of Mormons. The police, who were all Mormons, warned would-be customers against entering Gentile stores. The effect on the Gentile merchants was disastrous. The sales of the Walker Brothers decreased from $60,000 a month to $5,000 and those of the Auerbach Brothers, the leading Jewish merchants, similarly.[43] Of the Jewish merchants, the Auerbachs, the Kahns, the Siegels, the Cohns and the Watters Brothers, were able to carry on. Many of the smaller concerns moved to the newly established Gentile city of Corinne or left the Territory permanently. Those who remained ultimately regained a fair share of their former volume because of the increase of the Gentile population through the development of the mines and the railroads. In later years the Church ceased to urge their members to boycott Gentile concerns and harmony was restored.

[42] George A. Crofutt, *New Overland Tourist* (Chicago, 1878), p. 125.

[43] Walker's "Merchants and Miners of Utah," Ms. PF-30, and Auerbach's Ms. PF-15, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

GREAT TRANS-CONTINENTAL RAILROAD GUIDE.



The above cut represents the Mormon "Co-operative Sign"—called by the Gentiles the "Bulls Eye." At the Mormon conference, in the fall of 1868, all good Mormon merchants, manufacturers and dealers who desired the patronage of the Mormon people, were directed to place this sign upon their buildings in a conspicuous place, that it might indicate to the people that they were sound in the faith.

The Mormon people were also directed and *warned* not to purchase goods or in any manner deal with those who refused or did not have the sign,—the object seemed to be only to deal with their own people, to the exclusion of all others.

The result of these measures on the part of the church was to force many who were Gentiles or Apostate Mormons to sacrifice their goods, and leave the Territory for want of patronage. Some few, however, remained. Among whom was J. K. Trumbo, an auction and commission merchant, who procured the painting of what was known as the



"GENTILE SIGN."

This sign was placed in position on the front of his store, on the morning of the 26th of February, 1869, in a similar position to those of the Mormons. All day wondering crowds of people of all classes, little and big, hovered about the premises, and many opinions were expressed as to the propriety of the sign, and whether it would be allowed to remain by the Mormons; but at about 7 o'clock in the evening the problem was solved, by a charge made by several young Mormons, who, with ladders climbed upon the building and secured ropes upon the sign, while the crowd below tore it down, and dragged it through the streets, dashing it to pieces. This should be a warning to all "Gentiles" in future, not to expend their money in signs to be placed on their stores in Utah—*unless they have permission.*

SIGN OF THE ZION'S CO-OPERATIVE MERCANTILE INSTITUTION

VII

The "Gentile" City of Corinne

The city of Corinne, some sixty miles north and twelve miles west of Salt Lake City, was an anomaly, the like of which is not to be found in the history of the Far West. Many cities in California, Nevada and Montana sprang up like mushrooms overnight, flourished for a brief period and then withered away. But unlike other "ghost towns" such as Virginia City, Nevada, and Tombstone, Arizona, Corinne did not owe its origin to the discovery of precious metals. While it possessed strategic advantages as a shipping point for supplies for the rapidly developing regions in Montana and Idaho, it had the distinction of having been founded and settled exclusively by "Gentiles" and was the only non-Mormon city in the Territory. As has so frequently been pointed out, the term "Gentile" in Utah included the Jews. Corinne is now a "ghost town" but its history is unique and worthy of recording for it was here that the businessmen of Utah, fearing the extinction of their enterprises in Salt Lake City through a boycott by the Mormon authorities, hoped to find an opportunity to carry on.[1]

During the years 1868–1869 the Union Pacific Railroad was pushing the construction of its tracks westward to connect with the Central Pacific Railroad which was pressing east from California. The rivalry was intense as each road was paid for the number of miles completed

[1] See chapter VI, "Commercial Development," *supra,* pp. 37–59.

when the two joined. The Union Pacific, coming from the east, decided to by-pass Salt Lake, the capitol and largest city in the Territory, leaving it some forty miles to the south of the trans-continental line. As the railroads advanced, temporary quarters known as "tie camps" were built at intervals along the route to house and feed the large crews of laborers engaged in the work. Near Promontory, where the rails finally met, four of these settlements had been built which bore the names of "Dreadful," "Murder Gulch," "Last Chance" and "Painted Post" and these names described their character. In one of them there were five homicides in two weeks. The late Governor Simon Bamberger described the men as "tough and primitive."[2] Many of them were Chinese coolies who had been brought into the country as "contract laborers." In Corinne, one of these entered the house of Julius Bernstein, the father of Mrs. Israel Marks, at night and slew him with an ax.[3]

In 1869, two months before the first locomotive of the railroad entered Ogden, General J. A. Williamson, John W. Guthrie and a group of their friends, nearly all of whom had served in the Civil War, selected a location on the west bank of the Bear River, five miles north of the Great Salt Lake, as an ideal site for a city. It was christened "Corinne" in honor of the little daughter of General Williamson.[4] News of the founding of the city spread rapidly through Utah, Idaho and Montana. Almost overnight, hundreds of adventurous spirits rushed in to pur-

[2] See biography of Bamberger, *infra*, pp. 163 ff.

[3] Verbal statement of the late Mrs. Louis Simon (née Goldberg) who lived in Corinne as a girl.

[4] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Utah, supra*, p. 170; O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra*, vol. IV, p. 297. In 1924, Mrs. Emma C. Lorimer, a resident of Corinne, kindly permitted the writer to transcribe her unpublished manuscript history of that community.

chase lots which had been laid out by John O'Neil who had been a construction engineer of the railroad. First, tents and then "shacks" were erected to take care of the hordes of arrivals. Almost all of the Gentile merchants who were in business in Salt Lake City hurried north to establish branches in Corinne. Among these were the following Jews: Nicholas S. Ransohoff, Louis Reggel, Auerbach Brothers, Kahn Brothers, Gumpert Goldberg, M. Myer, Jacob Strauss, Aaron Greenewald, Julius Malsh, Joseph D. Farmer, Kuhn Brothers, Louis Cohn, Alexander Cohn, Julius Bernstein and Israel Marks.[5]

Previous to the coming of the railroad all of the supplies for the vast territory north of Utah, coming from the East, had to be hauled by teams across the Plains and through the mountains. This involved months of delay and heavy expenses. Now, the freight could be taken from the railroad near Corinne and transported by wagon train to its destination. In one year [1873] over 34,000,000 pounds of freight were picked up by thousands of wagons with two or three trailers drawn by three to six span of horses and hauled to points in Idaho and Montana. On the return trip the freighters brought back precious ores and hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of gold-dust. At its peak, the town had a population of some 4,000 residents.

Politically, Corinne was an anomaly for it had no charter and was governed by a loosely chosen Council.[6] It was described as "a little Republic," for its citizens, composed entirely of Gentiles in a Territory predominantly Mormon, felt themselves beyond the reach of the authority centered in Salt Lake City. Brigham Young

[5] E. L. Sloan, *Gazetteer of Utah, supra,* pp. 58–60.
[6] J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah, supra,* pp. 508–510.

refused to take its very existence seriously. In a sermon preached in Brigham City he declared:

> I prophesy that within five years the streets of Corinne will be overgrown with grass and cattle will feed thereon.[7]

His prophecy was ultimately fulfilled. When the writer visited the site of Corinne in 1924, it was truly a "ghost town." Its buildings and homes were deserted and grass was growing knee high in its streets. But, during its hectic career, the people of Corinne exhibited some of the highest and most generous attributes of men left to their own designs and, regrettably, some of the lowest. When funds were solicited for a worthy cause, they were promptly forthcoming. When a Presbyterian minister sought to raise money with which to build a church, all of the Jews contributed.[8] A contemporaneous historian, who had once been prominent in the Mormon Church, commented in 1870:

> It was thought by many that Corinne would become the chief commercial city of northern Utah. . . It should not be forgotten that these enterprising Gentiles were the first legitimate exporters of Utah and perhaps no city on the Pacific slope could show a class of more representative men than those who were identified with it. . . They were men of indomitable energy, ambition and push.[9]

Corinne gave birth to the first opposition political party in Utah, the "Liberal Party," which was later to make its influence felt throughout the Territory. Among its

[7] Emma C. Lorimer, Ms., *supra.*

[8] Corinne *Weekly Reporter,* Feb. 10, 1870.

[9] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. II, pp. 170-171; O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. IV, p. 297.

founders and active members were Samuel Kahn, Simon Bamberger, Gumpert Goldberg, Nicholas S. Ransohoff, Julius Malsh and M. Myer.[10]

In another aspect, Corinne was a typical "Wild West" boom town. When it became necessary to have a jail, a collection was taken among its citizens to build one.[11] Baron de Hübner, who visited here in 1871 during his trip around the world, wrote of it:

> The notables awaited me at the station. There were Jews from the banks of the Rhine, one the proprietor of the best hotel in Corinne, the other his assistant[12]. . . The streets are full of white men armed to the teeth, miserable looking Indians and yellow Chinese. . . No town in the far west gave me so good an idea of what is meant by "border life," the struggle between civilization and savage men and things.[13]

John Codman who visited there two years later, in 1873, wrote:

> It was a sultry Sunday morning . . . I strayed about the town. My friend introduced me to most of the resident gentlemen and I received nearly that number of invitations to take a drink. . . . I made my way to the nearest church.[14]

There were three churches in Corinne when Codman was there; but there were also twenty-five saloons. When the writer visited there after its decline and practical disappearance as a habitable place, he was reminded of the verse by Defoe:

[10] J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah, supra,* p. 509.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] The proprietor of the hotel was Aaron Greenewald.

[13] Baron M. le de Hübner, *A Ramble Round the World* (New York, 1875), pp. 120–121.

[14] John Codman, *The Mormon Country* (New York, 1871), pp. 79–80.

Whenever God erects a House of Prayer,
The Devil always builds a Chapel there;
And 'twill be found upon examination,
The latter has the largest congregation.[15]

[15] Daniel Defoe, *The True Born Englishman* (London, 1701), part i, 1.

VIII

Religious Activities

From the time of their coming to Utah the Jewish pioneers realized that "man does not live by bread alone." Coming from Europe as youths, some of them carried with them, overseas, across the plains and through the mountains, a prayer-book, the gift of a loving father or mother to a son departing on the great adventure to the New World. These were inscribed with an admonition to righteous living and a prayer for the well-being of the recipient such as "Remember then thy Creator in the days of thy youth" or "Hear, my son, the instruction of thy father and forsake not the teaching of thy mother." Lonely, weary and often in want, the tiny group of Jews who settled in Utah, found solace in their prayers.

Some of them carried their phylacteries (*tefillin*) with them during their wanderings. In them were inscribed in Hebrew on parchment four sections of the Pentateuch.[1] Later, when he had settled in a house or a mere shack, he attached to the doorpost a tiny tube, called a *mezuzah*, containing a parchment scroll on which were inscribed passages from the Pentateuch in Hebrew.[2]

That this small group gathered for religious services as early as the 1860's is quite probable; but the first

[1] These sections include the two from Exodus and two from Deuteronomy and teach the basic requirements of Judaism: the unconditional love of one God; the rewards for the obedience of His commandments and the punishment for disobedience of them. See *Jewish Encyclopedia,* vol. X, pp. 21–28.

[2] Deuteronomy 6:4–9; 11:13–21. See *Jewish Encyclopedia,* vol. VIII, pp. 531–532.

recorded account of a community religious service which we have been able to find appears in an article in the Salt Lake *Telegraph* in its issue of October 11, 1864. This reads:

> The respectable portion of our Israelite citizens commenced the celebration of the Atonement at sundown on Sunday and held over till the going down of the same orb. Being without a synagogue, the faithful met in the house of one of our East Temple Street merchants and commemorated the High Priest entering the holy of holies to make atonement for the sins of the people. The conveniences for observance being rather meagre, there was little conformity to the Law of Sacrifice [*sic!*]. We have respect for the religious sentiments of all men, whatever we may think of interpretations. We should be nothing sorry to learn that some of the young Israelites were drawing nearer to Moses. We mean it.

In 1865, a Jewish publication in Paris reported that there were twenty Jews in Salt Lake City, including two families; that they closed their places of business on Holy Days and assembled a *minyan* for services.[3] As time went on, the local newspapers made more frequent and somewhat more intelligent note of the religious affairs of the Jews. On May 22, 1866, the *Telegraph* describes the celebration of Shabuot:

> The Israelites of Salt Lake City, as per announcement of President Nathan Ellis, held divine services at the Masonic Hall in this city on Saturday evening last, being the inauguration of the holiday of Shebueth [*sic!*] . . . On Sunday the scroll was read in an able manner by H. M. Cohen. . . . The Ten Commandments were recited; also "akdomous,"[4] the particular

[3] *Archives Israelites* (Paris), 1865, p. 460.

[4] *Akdamut,* a mystical poem chanted on the first day of Shabuot (Feast of Weeks) in Ashkenazic synagogues. See *Jewish Encyclopedia,* vol. I, pp. 302–303. See also, *Archives Israelites* (Paris), 1866, pp. 104, 187.

chant of the day. From appearances, the feeling is such that at no distant day a Temple for their worship may be erected in this city.

That the Jewish residents of Salt Lake City, in 1866, had by then acquired not only a Sepher Torah but books and other religious articles for the proper observance of their religion is further attested to by a notice that appeared in the Philadelphia Jewish periodical, the *Occident,* during that year.[5]

During the following year evidence of the esteem which some of the leaders of the Mormon Church held for the disciples of the ancient faith showed itself when Brigham Young tendered the Jewish people the use of one of the Church edifices on the Temple grounds in which to hold services. This action had its origin in part in the close personal friendship which existed between Brigham Young and several of the prominent Jewish merchants and in part to the Mormon's high regard for Judaism as a religion. Thus, the *Telegraph,* October 1, 1867, states:

THE JEWS: The descendants of Judah assembled yesterday in the Seventies Hall to inaugurate the New Year of 5829 [*sic!*].[6] That epoch began on Sunday evening at six o'clock. The faithful of Judah attended services there from six in the morning till noon, which were continued last evening. The same services at the same hours today at the same place. Messrs. Wood [*sic!*], Watters and Ellis were the readers. Mr. Prag blows the schofar, in other words, the ram's horn.

The courtesy shown the Jews by Brigham Young in providing a Mormon church edifice in which to hold services resulted in the passage of this resolution of thanks:

[5] The full text of the notice is reproduced in chapter IX, "The Cemetery," *infra,* pp. 91–93.

[6] The correct corresponding Hebrew year should read 5628 Anno Mundi.

Whereas the Hon. Brigham Young has never denied any request made by us as a religious body, granting us on several occasions the use of an elegant hall for our worship: therefore be it resolved that we appreciate his kindness and the courteous manner in which our requests have been granted. Resolved, that we believe ourselves under many obligations to the Hon. Brigham Young and hereby tender him our sincere thanks. Resolved, that a copy of these resolutions be sent to the daily *Telegraph* of this city, *The Hebrew* and the *Hebrew Observer* of San Francisco, also *The Israelite,* of Cincinnati, for publication.

N. ELLIS, F. AUERBACH, S. SIEGEL, Committee.[7]

Coming at a time when the Mormons were under fire from Christian churches both in Utah and throughout the entire United States, this testimonial of good will from the Jews served to augment the kindly feeling of the Mormons toward them. It was printed in full in *The Israelite* and favorable comments on it were made in Jewish publications in Germany, France and Italy in later years.[8]

In the mid-sixties there were probably not more than fifty Jewish adults in Salt Lake City with a few scattered in other parts of the Territory. They had, as yet, no place of worship of their own and were not yet financially strong enough to build a synagogue. It is therefore somewhat astonishing to find the Jews assisting in the founding of the first Christian (non-Mormon) church in Utah. Even more unique is the fact that a Jew acted as a trustee of this church while nominally and actually remaining a

[7] The above mentioned are: Nathan Ellis, Frederick H. Auerbach and Solomon Siegel. See Salt Lake *Telegraph,* October 16, 1867.

[8] *Monatsschrift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums* (Breslau), 1869, p. 480; *Archives Israelites* (Paris), vol. XXIX, 1868, p. 107; *Hamagid,* ([Hebrew] Lyck), vol. XIII (Aug. 4, 1869); *Il Corriere Israelitico* (Trieste), vol. IX, 1870, p. 148.

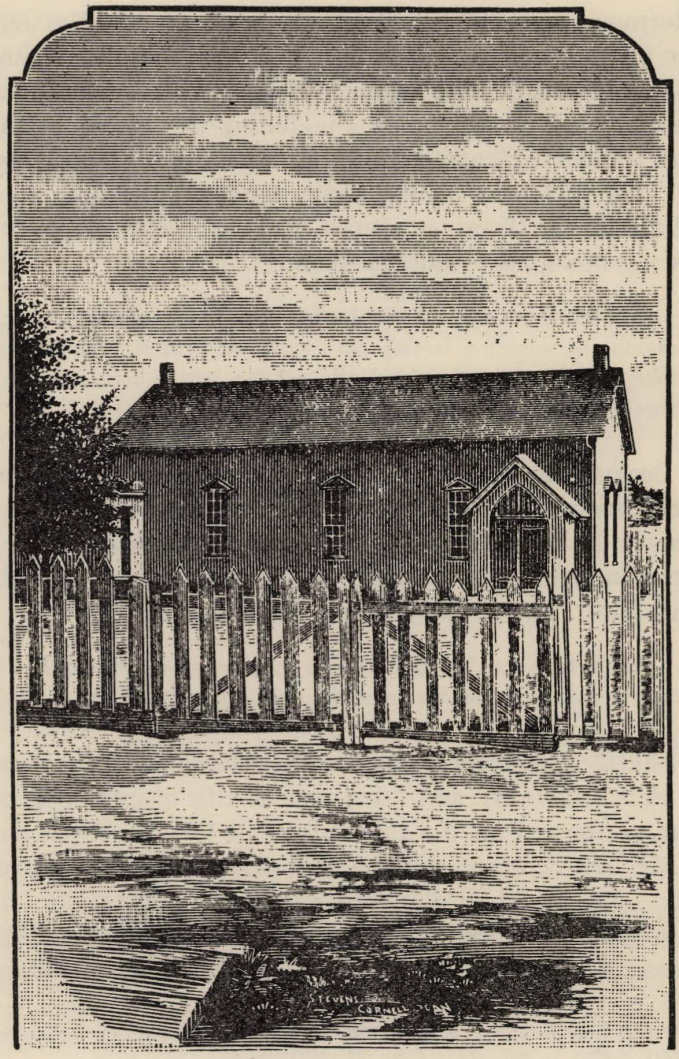
Jew. This came about through the formation of the "Young Men's Literary Association" in 1864, among whose members were four Jews: Elias Ransohoff, Samuel Kahn, Frederick Auerbach and Nelson Boukofsky. When Colonel Patrick Connor (later General) arrived in Utah in command of the "California Volunteers," he induced the Literary Association to invite the Reverend Norman McLeod, a Congregational minister, to come to Salt Lake City. He arrived on January 19, 1865, and conducted what is said to have been the first Christian (non-Mormon) service ever held in Utah. The Literary Association then undertook to raise money to provide a permanent place for worship. A lot was purchased and a building erected known as "Independence Hall." The deed was made out to the "Trustees of the First Church of Jesus Christ (Congregational)" and one of the trustees was Samuel Kahn, a Jew.[9]

Independence Hall played an important part in the affairs of the entire community including the Jews. This unpretentious structure was located on the south side of West Third South Street, just west of Main Street. In addition to the Congregational Church, Jewish services were held here on the holidays. It was the center for religious, social and political gatherings. Here was held a meeting which later resulted in brutal attacks on Ichel Watters, Charles Popper and Joseph Silver[10] during the height of the bitterness between the Mormons and the Gentiles. The superintendent of the Congregational Sunday School, Dr. J. King Robinson, was assassinated in 1866.[11] Here also an elementary private school for non-

[9] Jennie A. Froiseth, *The Women of Mormonism* (Detroit, 1882), p. 387; J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah, supra,* p. 529; Salt Lake *Tribune,* Nov. 25, 1865.

[10] See biography of Ichel Watters, *infra,* pp. 152-153.

[11] O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. II, p. 152.



INDEPENDENCE HALL, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, 1865

(From Jennie Anderson Froiseth's, *The Women of Mormonism* [Detroit, 1882])

Mormons was established; it was in charge of Miss Jennie Carney and the present writer was a student there.

In addition to Independence Hall, Jewish services were held at various other places including the Masonic Hall and Richard's Skating Rink, but on the high Holy Days of 1868, Brigham Young again tendered the use of an edifice on the Temple grounds, as is indicated in the following newspaper announcement:

> Rusheshoner [*sic!*] or the Jewish New Year, commences this evening at sundown, lasting until sundown Friday. The services take place at the Seventies Hall. All the Jewish houses of business will be closed on Thursday and Friday.[12]

Because they had no rabbi, the services for a few years were invariably conducted by Ichel Watters and Moses Caspar Phillips. Then, in 1872, mention is made of services conducted by "the Rev. Mr. Treichenberg" at Richards Hall. The *Tribune* assures us that

> The lecture was listened to with interest by a large audience. . . . Jewish services are somewhat of a novelty in Salt Lake.[13]

Shortly thereafter, Passover was celebrated by the Jews of Salt Lake City and "the ancient rite of circumcision was performed on the infant sons of Col. S. Kahn and a Mr. Heilbronner" by the Reverend H. Lovenberg of Elko, Nevada.[14] In September of the following year, he also acted as "Moel" (circumciser) for the sons of "Mr. Rosenthal, Joseph Keller and M. Myers."[15] The *Tribune*

[12] Salt Lake *Telegraph*, Sept. 16, 1868; *L'Educatore Israelita* (Vercelli), vol. XVIII, (1870), p. 295; *PAJHS*, no. 37 (1947), p. 51.

[13] Salt Lake *Tribune*, Jan. 30, 1872.

[14] *Ibid.*, April 23, 1872.

[15] *Ibid.*, Sept. 21, 1873.

followed the observance of the Holy Days with frequent newspaper notes. Thus, in the Fall of 1872, it recorded:

> The Jews will this evening commence their Rosh Hashono [*sic!*], New Year and the principal Jewish firms of the City will be closed tomorrow, among which we might mention Auerbach Bros., Theo. Hollander, L. Cohn, Siegel Bros., Watters Bros., L. Reggel, C. Adler, D. Mendelsohn, H. Meyer, Mrs. Goldman, etc. Any person desirous of attending the services can do so, only they will please note that they keep their heads covered. Services at the Liberal Institute.[16]

In the same issue of the *Tribune* the following item appeared:

> ANNIVERSARY OF THE WORLD'S BIRTH
>
> Today, according to Jewish chronology, the world arrives at its 5633rd year. The following Saturday is the holiest of all Sabbaths, a day observed by the Israelites from time immemorial; in fact two days are generally held as sacred on these occasions. The western world is noted for its apostasy but whether any of our Jewish friends have become contaminated with that pernicious spirit or not, we are not informed; however it will be practically illustrated today by the closing of the stores and suspension of business generally. It would not be strange to see a falling away even among the adherents of that ancient faith, as the manifestation of a popular spirit often becomes epidemic, and like a pestilent disease, apostasy grows at the very vitals of orthodoxy; knowing no distinction in creeds it sweeps like a scourge until all classes, irrespective of credal distinctions, fall victims to its influence.[17]

The editor's fears, so far as they concerned the local situation of the Jews, proved groundless; for the Jewish merchants did forego the desire for gain and closed their

[16] *Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1872. (The Liberal Institute was erected by William S. Godbe and Elias L. T. Harrison above the Presbyterian Church on East Third South Street. It was used for non-Mormon meetings.)

[17] *Ibid.*

places of business. They continued the custom for many years afterward.

The *Tribune,* which was the recognized organ of the Gentiles, never failed to take notice of Jewish activities and, in the following issue, described the New Year's services:

THE JEWISH NEW YEAR

Last evening at about quarter to six o'clock the Jewish population of this city, with a few visitors from Corinne and Ogden, held the first service connected with the celebration of their Rosh Hashona. There was quite a large attendance, indeed we were not previously aware that so many of the inhabitants of this city were of Jewish extraction. Mr. (Ichel) Watters of the firm of Watters Bros. and another gentleman whose name we could not learn, officiated for the occasion. Their services continued about three quarters of an hour and adjourned until 7:30 this morning.[18]

The next week it referred to the Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement) service; it noted that every Jew attended:

The Jewish day of atonement, Yom Kippur, is being observed very scrupulously by the Israelites of this city as we learn that everyone, without exception, is attending the ceremonies.[19]

A year later, 1873, it again describes the services held at the Liberal Institute on New Year and states that the readers were "the Reverend Mr. Lovenberg of San Francisco and Messrs. M. Levi and I. Watters." It announced, as in the past, that the Jewish stores would be closed. Of all the Jewish festivals, that of Pesach (Passover) aroused the keenest interest among the Christians. Every Jewish youth found himself surrounded by groups of Christian playmates eager to share the *mazzot* (un-

[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*, Oct. 12, 1872.

leavened bread)—all the while feeling that the sufferings of the ancient Israelites could not have been so great, since the *mazzot* and honey tasted so good. A large *seder,* attended by as many as thirty people, was invariably given at the home of Ichel Watters. The grandmothers and most of the homeless bachelors of the community were regularly invited and all joined with zest in singing the traditional Passover melodies. The Gentile newspaper described one of these given in 1879:

JEWISH PASSOVER

Yesterday concluded the Passover week during which our Jewish fellow citizens regale themselves by abstaining from all food except unleavened bread [*sic!*] as commanded by the great law giver, in commemoration of the final deliverance of the Israelites from 430 years of bondage in Egypt. Appropriate services were held in the morning at the house of Ichel Watters, the Rev. [*sic!*] Mr. Watters officiating. The Jewish congregation of this city numbers some forty members.[20]

During all these years the desire to possess a religious home of their own was strong among the Jews. Though characterized as wanderers by imaginative writers, the Jews have ever longed to feel themselves "placed." None of the Utah Jews had known the solace of the sanctuary of the synagogue since they had left the places of their birth in the 1840's and 1850's. They now felt that they were sufficient in number to consider the formation of a congregation and on March 1, 1881, a meeting was called with this purpose in view. Those in attendance were Henry Siegel, Julius Malsh, Isaac Wolf, N. S. Ransohoff, Ichel Watters, Charles Popper, Emanuel Kahn, Moses Hirschman, Samuel H. Auerbach, Alexander Cohn, Samuel J. Nathan, Moses C. Phillips, Martin Nadel, Leopold

[20] *Ibid.,* April 16, 1876.

Goldberg, M. Moritz, Joseph Baumgarten, Louis Reggel, J. Leviberg, Jacob E. Bamberger, M. Disenberg, Aaron Greenewald, Alex Stiefel and Samuel Kahn.[21] Authority was given to incorporate under the laws of the Territory under the title "B'nai Israel of Salt Lake City." The following were named as directors of the corporation: Henry Siegel, Leopold Goldberg, Julius Malsh, Samuel Kahn, Alexander Stiefel, Charles Popper and Moses Hirschman.[22] The following were elected provisional officers until the first formal meeting of the Board which was scheduled for the first Monday in August: President, Henry Siegel; Vice President, Leopold Goldberg; Secretary, Julius Malsh. The Articles of Incorporation were filed in the Clerk's office of the County Court of Salt Lake City on March 28, 1881, and recorded in Book D, pages 613–617.

On July 9, 1881, the Board decided to purchase the lot on the northwest corner of Third South and First West Streets, known as "Tanner's Lot." It was owned by John Sharp and was purchased from him for $2,600. For a down payment, $700 was borrowed from Moses C. Phillips, payable in four months at eight per cent interest.[23] The minute book records the fact that Messrs. Hall & Marshall were paid twenty dollars for legal fees and that A. H. Kelly was paid eight dollars "for making this record book." The first annual meeting of the congregation was held on August 1st and was attended by a somewhat different group which included: Henry Siegel, Samuel Kahn, Ichel Watters, Charles Popper, Moses C. Phillips, Isidore Wurzburg, Aaron Greenewald, Alexander Stiefel, Nicholas S. Ransohoff, M. H. Lipman, Solomon Levy,

[21] Minute Book CBI, March 28, 1881.
[22] *Ibid.*, April 1, 1881.
[23] *Ibid.*, March 31, 1881, pp. 10–12.

Joseph Baumgarten, Leopold Baumgarten, Samuel J. Nathan, Louis Reggel, Joseph D. Farmer, M. Moritz, and Julius Malsh.[24] The following were elected to the Executive Committee: President, Samuel Kahn; Vice-President, Joseph D. Farmer; Treasurer, Charles Popper; Secretary, Julius Malsh. At the meeting on August 10th, committees were elected to raise funds for the building and to procure a hall for divine services on the coming High Holy days.[25] Not long after the holidays were over the minutes of the congregation recorded that the community had suffered its first loss in the death of Gumpert Goldberg, at Ogden, Utah, and Ichel Watters and L. L. Baumgarten were "instructed to repair to Ogden and have the body properly prepared for the coffin."[26] In January, 1882, another loss was sustained in the death by drowning of J. D. Farmer. J. M. Joelson, and Charles Popper and Ichel Watters were asked to "co-operate with the Masonic and Odd Fellows lodges to arrange for his burial."[27]

Difficulties were encountered in raising funds for the synagogue building and there were the usual squabbles, resignations and reinstatements which customarily afflict young enterprises after the first flush of enthusiasm. At one phase it was even suggested that the enterprise be abandoned.[28] However they proceeded with the plans and on March 1, 1882, the Trustees issued a circular which reads in part:

> A School site has been secured but we lack the necessary means to erect and furnish proper School buildings.[29] In this

[24] *Ibid.*, August 1, 1881, p. 14.
[25] *Ibid.*, Aug. 10, 1881.
[26] *Ibid.*, Nov. 16, 1881.
[27] *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1882.
[28] *Ibid.*, March 21, 1882, p. 38.
[29] Throughout the minute book and in the local newspapers the building

> emergency we appeal to our own race and to all liberal minded people to come forward and assist our enterprise, each with such amount as he may feel able to donate, until such a sum shall be realized as will make it possible for us to go ahead with the much needed work.[30]

At a meeting on March 26th, it was decided to proceed with the construction. Henry Monheim, a leading architect of the day in that area, presented plans for a building to cost $4,500. The task of raising the necessary funds was assumed largely by the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society. From the proceeds of a Purim masquerade ball and other affairs which they had given earlier, they donated $700 to the congregation.[31] The congregation itself borrowed $3,000 from T. R. Jones' bank at eight per cent interest, and work on the building was begun. It progressed to such a point that on November 5, 1882, M. H. Lipman, Fred Simon and Ichel Watters were appointed a committee to issue invitations to the forthcoming dedication.[32] The building was finally dedicated on September 30, 1883. A description of it was given in the New Year's edition of the *Tribune:*

> THE HEBREW SCHOOL
>
> During the past season the Hebrew society of the city has erected a fine brick schoolhouse on the northwest corner of First West and Third South streets. The building is 33x83, built of brick and is one story, there being 20 feet between the floor and

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is uniformly designated as the "School." The Judaeo-German designation for temple or synagogue (*bet ha-midrash*) is *schul.* See *Jewish Encyclopedia,* vol. XI, pp. 112–113. While the main aim was to provide a place for a Sabbath school, the main auditorium was furnished with a pulpit, church pews and a choir loft for religious services.

[30] *Ibid.,* March 21, 1882, p. 38.

[31] Salt Lake *Tribune,* April 1, 1881.

[32] Minute Book CBI, Nov. 5, 1883.



OLD SYNAGOGUE BUILDING OF 1883 [CONVERTED INTO A BOARDING HOUSE]

the ceiling. The interior is divided into three rooms, one being large, suitable for use as a recitation room, one for holding meetings in while the other two [*sic!*] will be study rooms. Over the vestibule at the front entrance a gallery has been provided and will be used by the choir . . . on such occasions as desired. The rooms are nicely furnished, having heavy cornices of plaster around the ceilings, and the woodwork and plastering are in excellent taste. The interior presents an attractive appearance. This all, the work of citizens who take a deep interest in education and have, through their own donations and donations of others, added this improvement to our city at a cost of $14,000. The furniture, consisting of seats, desks, an organ, fixtures, etc., will cost $1,500 and the iron fence will cost $500. These articles of furniture have been selected and partly ordered. It is the intention of the Society to dedicate the building sometime in February, but the building will not be used for school purposes until April, by reason of its not being fully furnished.[33]

The building was finally completed in February, 1883, and the Scrolls of the Law were installed so that services could be held. At the first service in March, Ichel Watters and Moses C. Phillips officiated and Alexander Stiefel sounded the "shofar," a function that he performed for many years thereafter. Carl Young led the choir which was partly volunteer and partly paid. Harry Joseph, Mamie Morris, Bertha Greenewald and Joseph Oberndorfer sang in the choir from time to time. The services were traditional; the men worshiping with heads covered.

Early in its history, Congregation B'nai Israel turned from the Orthodox to the Reform ritual. At a general meeting on March 11, 1883, a motion was carried requesting that a letter be sent to Dr. Isaac M. Wise of Cincinnati, Ohio, to secure a teacher or rabbi. As a result, on August 27, 1884, a telegram was sent to Mr. Leon Strauss,

[33] Salt Lake *Tribune,* Jan. 1, 1883.

a Reform rabbi at Belleville, Illinois, reading: "Come at minister's rate of fare by order of the Board."[34] A resolution passed by the Trustees on September 7, 1884, declared that "the salary of Mr. L. Strauss be $62.50 per month, payable in advance" and that "if we find Mr. Strauss suitable, after hearing him during the coming Holy Days, said salary be paid him for one year."[35] It should be recalled that in those days there was no inflation and a dollar went much further than it does now. Rabbi Strauss held his first services on the second Friday in September.[36] The ritual was to be in accordance with the *Minhag America* (Reform) and members were requested to attend the services with uncovered heads. The price of seats for the coming High Holy Days was set at ten dollars for non-members since many came from the surrounding Territories to attend services. Dissension arose as a result of the engaging of Rabbi Strauss and his use of the Reform ritual. The membership of the congregation was almost unanimous in its approval of the Reform ritual. Even the older members, including Ichel Watters who had previously, as a lay member, conducted the services in Hebrew entirely, accepted the combined Hebrew and English service for the benefit of the younger generation to whom the Orthodox ritual was not understandable. Isidore Morris could not be prevailed upon to agree and he resigned from the congregation. Moses C. Phillips followed him shortly thereafter. The controversy between the factions led to the resignation of Rabbi Strauss in July, 1885. Some of the dissenters took their

[34] Minute Book CBI, March 11, 1883, p. 58, and April 27, 1884, p. 71.

[35] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1884, p. 71. Rabbi Strauss was a member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. He died in 1895. (See *Yearbook of Central Conference of American Rabbis*, vol. LX, 1950, p. 428).

[36] *Ibid.*, Sept. 7, 1884, p. 73.

case to the newspapers and in a long article in one of them, an unidentified dissenter gives his version of the history of the congregation:

THE HEBREW CONGREGATION

ONE OF THE OLD RITUALS GIVES A HISTORY OF B'NAI ISRAEL

Late in 1873 the late Samuel Kahn, Louis Reggel, Isidore Morris, M. C. Phillips, Mr. Ganster and I. Watters assembled at the office of Mr. Ganster in this city and organized what is known as the Congregation B'nai Israel; its object was to organize a Hebrew Religious and Educational Society, but, having no funds, an appeal was made to the public for aid. A ball was given in the Salt Lake Theatre which netted $1,000, Isidore Morris selling 200 tickets, M. C. Phillips 150, while Mrs. Reggel and Mrs. Kahn, by their determined efforts, sold a considerable number more and aided to make the affair a complete success. This was the starting point of the above congregation. A general subscription of our co-religionists and the public was next started for the purpose of raising funds for building . . . a school, and there was a most generous response.

Everything went on flourishing under the direction of the following named gentlemen who presided over the congregation at different times: Samuel Kahn, Charles Popper, Henry Siegel and M. C. Phillips. They finally obtained a sufficient amount by annual entertainments to build the present building known as the Jewish Synagogue; when finished it was dedicated under the old strict Orthodox form and the services held therein up to last year were strictly under the old ritual, as now practiced by all the Orthodox congregations throughout the United States and elsewhere. Everything went harmoniously until Mr. Leon Strauss was engaged here to conduct a Hebrew school and act as minister . . . The Latter-day Judean Disciples with Mr. Leon Strauss then introduced the latest Judean revelation. Through these new revelations discontent set in among the disciples as well as the minister and, from a full attendance it dwindled down to a half-dozen devotees, so that the minister left two months before the time of his engagement expired. The holiday being near at hand, the vice-president called a meeting of his congre-

> gation for the purpose of making arrangements for the services on those holy days, which it was intended should be conducted by its members. At a meeting in August last a resolution was introduced to restore the old ritual and it was carried with some omissions or amendments thereto. A committee for the purpose of arranging the ritual was appointed, but being unable to agree, the President called a meeting the following week and, after calling the meeting to order, he announced that the proceedings of the preceding meeting were null and void and of no effect; thereupon some of the members concluded to withdraw and hold separate services under the old Hebrew ritual; and this without malice or ill feeling in the least respect to anyone whatever.[37]

Some of those who withdrew from B'nai Israel Congregation in 1884 joined the Montefiore Congregation (Orthodox), which was organized in 1899 and incorporated in 1903.[38] The authorities of the Mormon Church contributed money to this Congregation because of their friendship for Isidore Morris who had aided them in securing the release of some of their members who had been imprisoned for violation of the Federal anti-polygamy act.[39]

As a result of the schism and the decline in income, the finances of the B'nai Israel Congregation had decreased to such an extent that its classrooms were rented to the Congregational Church. The situation became so critical that Samuel H. Auerbach suggested that it return to the old ritual for the coming Holy Days in an effort to reconcile the dissatisfied orthodox group.[40] Being without a rabbi, the task of conducting the services was again undertaken by Ichel Watters. Vigorous efforts were made to again arouse public interest, and again the Ladies He-

[37] Salt Lake *Herald,* Sept. 13, 1885.
[38] *American Israelite,* vol. XLV, no. 40 (April 6, 1899).
[39] See biography of Isidore Morris, *infra,* pp. 136–137.
[40] Minute Book CBI, Aug. 2, 1886, p. 91; Aug. 28, 1886, p. 94.

brew Benevolent Society stepped into the breach and raised a larger sum of money than it had ever raised before. This was donated to the Congregation which loaned it out at the prevailing rate of interest which was nine per cent. Meanwhile the property of the Congregation had been mortgaged for $3,000 to the Commanding Officer of the Sixth United States Infantry stationed at Fort Douglas. In June, 1889, the President of the Congregation reported that he had received an offer of $20,000 for the synagogue property. The offer seemed attractive since the location was not particularly suited for a house of worship. Accordingly, on motion of Ichel Watters, the committee was authorized to sell.[41] With vastly increased funds and with renewed enthusiasm it was decided to seek a new site for a larger temple. On September 2, 1889, the committee reported that it had purchased property on the east side of Fourth East Street between Second and Third South Streets for $5,500.[42] With renewed confidence through the added strength of many new arrivals in the community, the congregation engaged the Reverend Heiman J. Elkin as their Rabbi and he arrived early in September, 1889. Rabbi Elkin was a graduate of the Hebrew Union College of the class of 1889. It was agreed that the Reform ritual should be employed.

Since the old synagogue had been sold, services were held and the Sabbath school conducted at the Josephite Church on East Second South Street. Here Rabbi Elkin conducted services.[43] Here the first class of pupils was confirmed.

[41] *Ibid.*, June 16, 1889, p. 121.

[42] *Ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1889, p. 139; *American Israelite*, vol. XXVI, no. 13, Sept. 26, 1889, p. 6.

[43] Minute Book CBI, Sept. 11, 1889, p. 144. See also, Salt Lake *Tribune*, Sept. 9, 1889.

The time seemed ripe to make use of the plot of ground that had been acquired and on September 21st, on motion of Simon Bamberger, seconded by Ichel Watters, the committee was authorized to proceed with plans for a new synagogue, "to cost not less than $8,000 or more than $10,000."[44] As had been the case with the first synagogue, the final cost greatly exceeded this amount. Frederick H. Auerbach volunteered to bear the expense of bringing his nephew, Philip Meyer, a Berlin, Germany, architect, to Salt Lake City and also the expense of preparing the plans for the new Temple. Mr. Meyer arrived in November and Henry Monheim, the architect of the first synagogue, was employed to co-operate with him. When the plans were completed the congregation increased the amount of their appropriation for the building to $25,000. It was to be a small replica of the Great Synagogue in Berlin. The cornerstone of the new structure was laid on September 26, 1890, (Tishri 12, 5651, according to the Jewish calendar). A metal box was placed in the cornerstone which contained copies of all of the local newspapers, the *American Israelite,* the *Deborah,* a copy of the Constitution and By-laws of the B'nai Israel Congregation, a list of officers and members and a photograph of Mrs. Julius Gerson Brooks, the first Jewish woman to settle in Utah.[45] President Leopold Goldberg presided and Rabbi Elkin conducted the services. The local Gentile newspaper describes the ceremonies:

> The Congregation B'nai Israel laid the cornerstone of their handsome new temple yesterday afternoon . . . Rabbi Elkin and President Goldberg of the congregation officiating. There was a good assembly of Hebrews present and the exercises passed off pleasantly. This building is remarkable from its being a facsimile

[44] Minute Book CBI, Sept. 21, 1889, p. 147.
[45] See biography of Julius Brooks, *infra,* pp. 123–125.

in miniature of the great temple in Berlin, Germany. The size is 55x112 feet, including the vestibule. There will be two wings and it will seat 500 people. A fourteen foot gallery over the chancel will accommodate a $3,500 organ and a choir. The interior height is forty feet, while, toward the rear of the edifice, towers a mosque-like dome eighty-eight feet in the air. The front is of cut Kyune stone, the sides and rear being of pressed brick and the style is Moorish. The cost of the temple complete will be $37,500. The supervising architect is H. Mondheim, the contractors Joy & Black. The building will be an ornament to the city.

The cornerstone, as is usual with all synagogues, was placed at the northeast corner of the building, a custom dating back from the earliest times. It was neatly cut out in the centre for the 10x14 inch tin box which held the souvenirs or mementos of the day . . . The officers of the congregation are: President, L. Goldberg; vice president, Alex. Cohn; Secretary, J. Malsh; Treasurer, Emil Kahn; and Trustees: Joseph Simon, Herman Bamberger, and Emil Friedman. The temple walls are now up about ten feet and the expectation is that by January the temple will be ready for dedication.[46]

As is usual with such structures, the completion of the Temple was delayed and it was not dedicated until July 12, 1891. The beauty and uniqueness of the new Jewish Temple was hailed with much enthusiasm and the dedication ceremonies were given wide publicity by the local press. The Salt Lake *Tribune* devoted several columns to its description of the dedication:

The dedication services of the new Jewish Temple on Fourth East Street were held yesterday morning before an audience which filled the entire house. Among the audience were many prominent non-Jews including Governor [Arthur] Thomas, Judge [Charles C.] Goodwin of the Tribune, C. W. Lyman and others. The services lasted from 10:30 A.M. until nearly 1 P.M. and were

[46] Salt Lake *Tribune,* Sept. 27, 1890; *American Israelite,* vol. XXXVII, no. 15 (Oct. 9, 1890), p. 7.

very impressive and interesting so that the length was not noticed. The entire interior was attractively decorated with flowers and plants of every kind, the chancel or pulpit platform being fairly surrounded with large potted plants. The general appearance of the building is bright and cheerful; there seemed to be an air of quiet elegance pervading the place and a more attractive place of worship does not exist in the west.[47] . . . The musical part was of unusual excellence. It was under the conductorship of Prof. Krouse at the head of a picked orchestra of eighteen performers with the following vocalists as the choir: Mrs. A. Rowe, Mrs. Jos. Siegel, Miss Ada Strauss, sopranos; Mrs. Jac. Leviberg, Miss M. Watson, contraltos; Mr. J. P. Wilson, Mr. F. Vollmer, Mr. F. Bennett, tenors; Mr. D. Hirschler, Mr. J. Oberndorfer, bassos. . . . The organ is one of the finest in the West. . . . Those on the rostrum were Rabbis Elkin and Stern, Dr. Schreiber, of Little Rock, Arkansas, Simon Bamberger, F. H. Auerbach, S. H. Auerbach, Alex Cohn, E. Kahn, H. Bamberger, Henry Siegel, Henry Cohn, Joseph Simon and the scroll bearers, Ichel Watters and A. Levi. Two little girls, aged six, Helen Bamberger and Harriet Cohn, presented the keys of the building . . . Rabbi Schreiber gave the invocation . . . The reading of the Law was by Ichel Watters in the original Hebrew . . . The sermon was by Rabbi Elkin, who retires next month, when Rabbi Stern takes his place . . . Credit is due to Philip Meyer, who is in the employ of the German government, for the plans which are modeled after the great temple at Berlin.[48]

At this time the congregation numbered only sixty-three regular members which grew to eighty-one by the next year (1892).[49] Rabbi Jacob Ludwig Stern remained for only one month. In September, 1891, Rabbi Moses P. Jacobson was called from San Antonio, Texas, to lead the congregation.[50] He was a graduate of the Hebrew

[47] Here follows a copy of the program.

[48] Salt Lake *Tribune,* July 13, 1891; *American Israelite,* July 23, 1891, and *Jewish Messenger,* vol. LXX, no. 5, July 31, 1891.

[49] Minute Book CBI, Jan. 5, 1891, p. 191, and Jan. 4, 1892, p. 214.

[50] Minute Book CBI, Aug. 10, 1891, p. 207.



CONGREGATION B'NAI ISRAEL, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

Union College, a man of erudition and one whose interests transcended the narrow limits of the pulpit. His sermons were listened to by many non-Jews and he was frequently invited to address Christian congregations. His views on current affairs were given expression in his own publication, the *Liberalist,* and he often aroused the antagonism of a small but powerful group in his congregation. Under his guidance the Sabbath school prospered greatly. In June, 1894, he left Utah to take a pulpit in Chicago. Later he served in Shreveport, Louisiana, and finally in Asheville, North Carolina. In the six years following the departure of Rabbi Jacobson the affairs of the congregation were in a precarious state and interest in it lagged lamentably.

In the fall of 1894, Mr. Sigmund Simon, a layman, offered to officiate but in doing so he encountered many difficulties. Many of the members still retained resentment over the actions of the few who were charged with having been the cause of Rabbi Jacobson's leaving; some resigned and the finances of the congregation were at a low ebb. The situation had become so desperate that in March, 1895, negotiations were undertaken with the Unitarian Society for the rental of the synagogue.[51] At the time it was reported that "a Mr. Kaiser" was in the City and that he had offered to officiate at the services and also to act as a teacher in the Sabbath school without remuneration.[52] As a result, the school was reopened with a class of from fifty-five to sixty-five children. The Ladies Society again came to the rescue of the congregation with a money donation, and the new teacher, Kaiser, was paid a moderate amount for his services.[53] But several mem-

[51] *Ibid.,* March 4, 1895, p. 265.
[52] *Ibid.,* April 2, 1895, p. 266; *Il Corriere Israelitico* (Trieste), 1895, p. 207.
[53] *Ibid.,* March 4, 1895, p. 265.

bers of the congregation resigned and the attendance at the services dropped to a minimum.

In 1896, President Simon Eiseman reported that "we passed through a severe crisis last year."[54] Difficulties were encountered in securing the consent of the officers to continue to serve in their respective posts and it was even suggested that the congregation be dissolved.[55] In the spring of that year it was decided to rent the temple on Sunday mornings to the Christian Scientists at a rental of forty dollars per month provided they would not interfere with the continuation of the Jewish services.[56] Difficulties were experienced in meeting payments on the $9,000 mortgage on the temple. Friday evening services were, however, continued by Mr. Kaiser and in 1897 the financial condition apparently improved. The Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society raised $1,156 and contributed it to the congregation, thus coming to its rescue as it had done so often in the past.[57] In April, the services of Mr. Kaiser were dispensed with and a layman, Sigmund Simon, volunteered to act in his stead without cost to the congregation. In June, Rabbi J. Korn was invited to conduct one service but it was decided not to engage a rabbi at the time.

As the children were now without a religious teacher, President Simon, in his report to the congregation on January 3, 1898, expressed deep concern and admonished the members to exert themselves to restore the organization to good standing:

> It is with the utmost regret that I am compelled to report to you the unsatisfactory state of affairs existing in our Congrega-

[54] *Ibid.*, April 2, 1895, p. 266.
[55] *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1896, p. 272.
[56] *Ibid.*, April 20, 1896, p. 280.
[57] *Ibid.*, March 7, 1897, p. 292.

> tion, financially as well as spiritually. This is not particularly the fault of the members as a body, but has been brought about by various reasons, not the least of which is the stringency of the times. Yet this latter might have been overcome if the proper spirit and a little more interest in the cause of Judaism and in the affairs of our Congregation would have been manifested by each individual member. For, "where there is a will, there is a way" . . . I would earnestly recommend . . . to engage the services of a competent man . . . for the teaching of our children. . . . (I would suggest that) the ladies of the Congregation take this matter in hand and show that they are true and loyal Mothers in Israel.[58]

A "Prof. Schanfeld," concerning whom no other information is given, was engaged to conduct the Holy Day services in September, 1898, but nothing further was accomplished. In December, the congregation was compelled to rent the temple to the First Unitarian Society for its services.[59] President Samuel Weitz, in a report to the congregation deplored the sad state into which it had fallen.[60]

The Minute Book of the Congregation B'nai Israel ends with an entry dated December 18, 1899. That year, likewise marks the end of the period of the history of the Jews in Utah which we have endeavored to cover in this study. Of its subsequent history it may be recorded that Rabbi Louis G. Reynolds was engaged in 1900 and remained until the summer of 1903.[61] He was followed by Rabbi Charles J. Freund in 1904.[62] Rabbi

[58] *Ibid.*, Jan. 3, 1898, p. 298.

[59] *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1898, p. 307.

[60] *Ibid.*, Dec. 31, 1898, pp. 307–308.

[61] Rabbi Reynolds was born in Poland in 1870 and educated at the Talmudical College at Kovno. He had been rabbi at Newark, N.J., and at Bradford, Pa.

[62] Rabbi Freund was born in New York City in 1875 and was graduated from the Hebrew Union College in 1900.

Freund succeeded in instilling new life into the congregation and enlarged its Sabbath school. Rabbi Freund continued his leadership of the congregation until July 15, 1913. He was followed by Rabbi William F. Rice, who later moved to California.[63] After him came Rabbi Adolph Steiner of Kalamazoo, Michigan, who remained but a short time. In 1925, Rabbi Samuel H. Gordon became the leader of the congregation and during his incumbency the temple was overhauled and redecorated.[64]

[63] Rabbi Rice was an alumnus of the Hebrew Union College, Class of 1909.

[64] Rabbi Gordon is a member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and a graduate of the Hebrew Union College.

IX

The Cemetery

As was the case with other small early pioneering American Jewish communities, the beginning of organized Jewish life had its inception through meeting the requirement of burying its dead. This also was true of Salt Lake City.

Indeed, much of the early history of the Jews in Utah can be read on the inscriptions of the tombstones in the B'nai Israel Cemetery in that city. The first Jewish cemetery in Salt Lake City, it should be pointed out, was established before the congregation came into existence. When Brigham Young, in 1866, donated a piece of land to the Jewish community for a cemetery, it was an arid waste on a plateau overlooking the city which supported nothing but straggling clumps of sagebrush and greasewood, relieved only by an occasional sego lily.[1] Above the cemetery were the ruins of the "Spanish Wall" which the Mormons had built in 1853 as a protection against Indian raids. There was no water available and even as late as the mid-1880's water had to be carried in buckets from the distant City cemetery to keep alive the myrtle which loving hands had planted over the graves of their departed. The drain on the funds of the tiny Jewish community resulting from the care extended to their own people, in addition to the many transients, led to an appeal to their eastern brethren which was printed in Isaac Leeser's *Occident* of Philadelphia, in 1866:

[1] A. Gentile [Dyer D. Lum], *Utah and Its People* (New York, 1882), p. 14.

Appeal from Salt Lake City

We have received the following from the most distant, as far as facilities of travel are concerned, Jewish society and lay it before our readers, it being the best manner at our disposal to serve the parties concerned.

"At a meeting of the first Hebrew Benevolent Society of this city, an organization composed of all the Israelites, for the purpose of promoting the interest and observances of our ancient faith and, more especially to provide and assist all afflicted and helpless of our people, the following resolution was unanimously adopted: This society has reasons to feel gratified at the interest manifested by its members and likewise proud at the liberality with which all contributed toward defraying the expenses of purchasing a Sepher Torah, Shophar, books, etc., for the proper observance of our religion, and the readiness with which appeals for charity have been promptly met; and, whereas a piece of ground has been donated to the society aforesaid for a Jewish cemetery; therefore be it resolved that Messrs. J. M. Ellis, Joseph Siegel, Theodore Auerbach and F. F. Hilp, be appointed a committee to solicit such pecuniary aid of Jewish congregations and individuals outside of the Territory, for the purpose of raising means to build a wall and other improvements so much needed and required to the present bare cemetery, relying on their appeal for so laudable a purpose will be cheerfully responded to by all who have the welfare of Israel at heart. In view of the above, the committee respectfully represents that the society for which they have the honor to make this appeal, being for the common good of our scattered people, would decline to ask for assistance, if it were in the power of its few members to further their purpose. The expense of the society, owing to its being so remote, has been more than great; indeed every member has donated more than the extent of his means. It is not only needed but essential on this, the thoroughfare of the great West, to have a resting place for those who may be called to take that long journey and, as we have stated, it is more than we can undertake, as the estimated expense of fitting up the cemetery is $800 to $1,000. We respectfully make this appeal to your generosity and that of your congregation and members, hoping you will approve of our enterprise and sufficiently inter-

est yourselves to see that we are pecuniarily assisted in this matter at as early a date as possible.
Salt Lake City, January 22, 1866."[2]

Having a piece of land of their own, imbued the little group with the determination to improve it. Soil had to be brought in to supplant the underlying coarse gravel and to allow for the growth of grass and, on Sunday mornings, both men and women were engaged in planting shrubs and small trees. The first grave with a marker was that of Willie S. Boukofsky who was born on December 31, 1867, and died on January 25, 1868; the second was that of George J. Brooks, a son of Julius and Fanny Brooks, who was born in 1857 and died on October 17, 1868. There may have been earlier burials of transients in the City cemetery. All of the earlier headstones were of native granite until, upon the death of Sarah Watters in 1878, her son, Ichel Watters, had a monument for her carved out of Utah marble; she was the earliest born of all those buried in the cemetery, the date of her birth having been in the year 1793.

As there was no other Jewish cemetery at the time in the intermountain territory, those dying in the neighboring Territories of Idaho, Nevada and Montana were often brought to Salt Lake City for burial. Whenever a death occurred among the local Jewish population, the congregation customarily passed a suitable resolution of condolence.[3] In the absence of any rabbi, the services at the grave were invariably conducted by Ichel Watters. It was not until 1881 that a plan was devised for getting water to the cemetery, when a committee consisting of

[2] *The Occident* (Philadelphia), vol. XXIII (5026, [1865–1866]), pp. 558–559; *The Israelite,* vol. XII, no. 34 (Feb. 23, 1866), p. 269; vol. XIII, no. 30 (Feb. 1, 1867), p. 6; and *Archives Israelites* (Paris), vol. XXIX, (1868), p. 107.

[3] Minute Book CBI, March 31, 1881, p. 10.

Charles Popper and Leopold Goldberg was appointed by the congregation to make the necessary arrangements. Not until eight years later was water finally piped to the grounds[4] and president Moses C. Phillips was able to report that

> The committee has succeeded in getting hydrants and water on our cemetery grounds and improvements may be made so that our dead may rest amid flowers and shrubbery—not as hitherto under a barren desert.[5]

So far as is known the cemetery ground had been given to the community informally and it was not until 1877 that a committee of the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society, composed of Mrs. Charles Popper and Mrs. Samuel Reggel, called on Brigham Young and secured from him a legal deed of the original grant. The cemetery lots had originally been sold for twenty-five dollars each but the amount thus realized was quickly spent,[6] so assessments of small amounts were frequently levied on each member of the congregation to provide for its upkeep.[7] Wardens were appointed from among its membership, Alexander Cohn being among the earliest and Sigmund Simon and Herbert Hirschman among the later ones. These men devoted themselves tirelessly and unselfishly to the task of beautifying the grounds until the cemetery became a garden spot which is cherished as a precious possession by the population.[8]

[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, Feb. 12, 1882, p. 32.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] No books or records of the cemetery during all of its early years are found. In 1923, the present writer made a list of all the graves, arranged in chronological order, according to the year of death. The list is given in Appendix, *infra*, pp. 177–178.

X

Fraternal and Benevolent Organizations

FRATERNAL ORDERS

Membership in one of the several orders of national scope was of great value to travellers to the Far West in the early days. Members of the Masonic order wore keystones or other insignia attached conspicuously on their watch-chains. Similarly, members of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows wore insignia pins on the lapels of their coats. They were thus easily identified by fellow members and friendships were immediately established. In the event of trouble or illness they were assured of help and care and when they settled down in any community social contacts were easily made. In the early days in Utah, membership in either of the above lodges was denied the Mormons. Thus, membership was exclusively Gentile and in Utah, this included the Jews, who, almost without exception, belonged to one or both of these lodges.

Masonic Order

The Masonic order in Utah had its start with the arrival of Albert Sydney Johnston's Federal Army in 1858 for, among the officers and soldiers in his command, there were a number of members of the Masonic and Odd Fellows fraternities. In a similar manner, membership was greatly augmented when General Patrick E. Connor arrived in Salt Lake City with his California Volunteers in

1863. Of the eight members of the Masonic order who attended the first meeting on November 11, 1865, four were Jews, namely James M. Ellis, Louis Cohn, Theodore Auerbach and Charles Popper.[1] When the charter was granted in 1869, Solomon Siegel, Samuel J. Nathan, Samuel Kahn and Abraham Watters were present. The last named was the oldest in point of membership, having become a Mason in 1837.[2] In 1874, Louis Cohn was Most Worshipful Grand Master, Emanuel Kahn was Secretary of Wasatch Lodge No. 1; and Samuel J. Nathan was Worshipful Master of Mount Moriah Lodge No. 2.[3] Kahn was one of the originators of the Masonic Library in Salt Lake City in 1874, having personally raised $2,500 toward its establishment. This was the first non-Mormon library in Utah. It contained a collection of books and pamphlets concerning mining in the early West, as well as works of a literary nature. It was open to the public and was well patronized.[4]

Odd Fellows

The first meeting of Odd Fellows in Salt Lake City was held in Daft's Hall on Main Street on January 17, 1865, and was attended by Fred. H. Auerbach, Charles Popper and James M. Ellis. Utah Lodge No. 1 was established on July 24, 1865, mainly through the efforts of Charles Popper. James M. Ellis was its first President.[5] In 1869,

[1] Christopher Diehl, *History of Masonry in Utah*, quoted by E. W. Tullidge in his *History of Salt Lake, supra*, Appendix, pp. 15–19; Salt Lake *Telegraph*, Dec. 24, 1867; *Educational Bulletin*, no. 2, issued by Grand Lodge of Utah, October, 1924.

[2] See biography of Abraham Watters, *infra*, pp. 142 ff.

[3] E. L. Sloan, *Gazetteer of Utah* (1874), *supra*, p. 180.

[4] C. Diehl, *History of Masonry in Utah*.

[5] Salt Lake *Telegraph*, March 24, 1865; *The Utah Odd Fellow* (Salt Lake City), vol. XIX, no. 11 (November, 1908); J. J. Thomas, *History of Utah*

the Jewish members, in addition to the above named, included Theodore Auerbach, Abraham Watters and Ichel Watters. The latter acted as its Treasurer for many years. In the early 1870's the following are mentioned as members: Nelson Boukofsky, Simon Bamberger, Henry Cohn, Louis Hyams, Samuel Levy, M. Meyers, Elias Siegel and Moss Wolf. Both the Masons and the Odd Fellows maintained "Halls" which were regularly used for entertainments and for meetings of civic groups.

B'nai Brith

At a much later period, in 1892, the Benjamin F. Peixotto Lodge No. 42 of the Independent Order B'nai Brith was established in Salt Lake City. It was named in honor of Mr. Peixotto, a New York lawyer, diplomat and communal leader. Among those most active in its organization were Henry Cohn, Moritz Friedman, Albert Graupe, William Graupe and Adolph Jacobs.

HEBREW BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES

Early in its history, the small Jewish community in Utah which was centered in Salt Lake City, found itself under the necessity of providing funds to care for the sick and needy. The need was not for the permanent residents, who were well able to take care of themselves, but for the transients flowing from the East en route to points on the Pacific coast. Most of this traffic passed through Salt Lake City and stopped there to recuperate and reoutfit. Many of the Jews who were making this journey and who became ill or impoverished en route, struggled

Lodge No. 1 (Salt Lake City, July 29, 1890); Salt Lake *Tribune,* April 28, 1871, and April 9, 1872.

on to Salt Lake City to secure aid there. The situation did not cease with the coming of the railroad; indeed the number of travellers seeking aid increased very materially.

For a time, it was customary for the first resident approached by a supplicant personally to canvass the small existing Jewish community for the funds necessary to succor the transient and speed him on his way but it was soon found that some organized group was essential for the purpose. Accordingly, in 1866, the Hebrew Benevolent Society was established.[6] It was not incorporated and no minute books or other records of its activities are available covering the early period. In 1874, its officers were: President, Charles Popper; Vice-President, Moses Hirschman; Secretary, M. Wasserman; Treasurer, Ichel Watters; Trustees: Charles Adler, Solomon Levy and L. Arnstein.[7] When the burden on the merchants became too great the task was taken over by the women who formed the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Association the officers of which in 1874 were: President, Mrs. H. M. Cohen; Vice-President, Mrs. David Mendelsohn; Secretary, Mrs. G. Selig; Treasurer, Mrs. C. Goldman; Trustees: Mesdames J. M. Joelson, Charles Popper and S. Hanak.[8] Ultimately the men's organization was dissolved and, on the suggestion of Abraham Watters, the funds which they had on hand were sent to Jerusalem to be distributed to the poor of the Holy City.[9]

The women's organization devised a plan to raise the necessary funds by giving periodic balls which would

[6] Article by Rabbi Moses P. Jacobson in *The World's Fair Ecclesiastical History of Utah, supra,* pp. 298–318.

[7] E. L. Sloan, *Gazetteer of Utah* (1874), *supra,* p. 174.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] See *supra,* note 6.

attract the attention and support of their Christian neighbors. In this they were successful beyond their expectations and these balls became a social function in which the entire community participated, Jew and Christian alike. The following description of a ball given by them in 1872, taken from a local newspaper, is typical of the appeal which these events had:

> The social of the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society at the [Liberal] Institute [a Gentile institution] . . . will doubtless be a brilliant affair. First because it is for a charitable purpose and second, because our Hebrew friends are never known to get up anything but successful parties.[10]

The expectations of the newspaper reporter were realized, for, in the next issue of the *Tribune,* he wrote:

> THE BALL OF THE SEASON
>
> The ball given Thursday evening at the Liberal Institute by the Hebrew Benevolent Society was altogether the most sociable and home-like of any party I have witnessed in this city. I am not sufficiently versed in the mysteries of the toilet to properly describe the dresses of the ladies; suffice it to say that all were tastefully and elegantly arrayed. But what I do admire, beyond the effect that could be produced by silks and diamonds, were the pleasant, home-like and unaffected manners of the ladies. One was made to feel that some friend had vouched for him and that the whole duties of the managers had not ceased when the tickets were sold and the money pocketed. . . . What also contributed to the pleasure were the old, familiar faces, Governor Johnson, Generals Cannon and Ord, Judges Hayden, Hardy and Strickland and many others whose countenances on such occasions do not wear the look of charging a battery of artillery or trying a murder case, but as though all care was, for the evening, thrown aside and twenty years left at home.[11]

[10] Salt Lake *Tribune,* Feb. 23, 1872.
[11] Salt Lake *Tribune,* Feb. 24, 1872.

TOURO COLLEGE LIBRARY
Main Campus Women's Building

Equally successful and remunerative were the balls given at the Salt Lake Theatre and the Walker Opera House. As in the instance cited above, they were attended by the Governor of the Territory, by the Federal officials and by the officers of the United States Army which was stationed at the nearby Fort Douglas. These balls were always followed by an elaborate dinner the food for which was cooked by the ladies at their own homes, taken to the hall where the balls were held and served by the ladies of the Hebrew Society.

That the Jews assumed the burden of caring for their own sick and needy, instead of permitting them to become public charges, was observed by various historians of Utah:

> The Hebrew Congregation numbers one hundred members. They have two benevolent societies which have distributed over $2,300 to the poor in a single year.[12]
>
> Every Jew in the city is a member of the Hebrew Relief Society.[13]

The income from these balls was considerable in view of the small population; the net proceeds from the one mentioned above was $1,900. Some of the funds thus raised were donated to the Congregation B'nai Israel, which was so often in financial straits. The women's organization frequently loaned the congregation monies, which were never repaid.[14] It was also responsible for engaging the synagogue choir and some of its members participated in it as volunteers.

The fraternal and charitable organizations continued

[12] Jennie Froiseth, *The Women of Mormonism, supra,* p. 390.

[13] J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah, supra,* p. 507.

[14] Minute Book CBI, Aug. 22, 1882, p. 50; Sept. 11, 1886, p. 95; Dec. 11, 1887, p. 102; Dec. 7, 1891, p. 212.

EIGHTH ANNUAL

Grand Carnival

IN AID OF THE

Hebrew Benevolent and Relief Societies,

—AT THE—

SALT LAKE THEATER,

Tuesday Evening, February 26th, 1884.

Tickets to be had from the various Committees.

Committee of Arrangements:

M. C. Phillips, S. H. Auerbach,
E. Kahn, Henry Siegel,
H. Brishacher, H. Bamberger,
Louis Hyams.

Invitation Committee.

Abram Gould,	Wm Rowe,	Hon J A Hunter,	F Cope,
P L Williams,	Boyd Park,	Gov Eli H Murray,	H Wagner,
Alex Cohn,	L L Baumgarten,	J Barnett,	Geo Cullins,
L H Hills,	Wm James,	J Walsh,	S C Ewing,
Chris Diehl,	P H Lannan,	H Monheim,	Jos Siegel,
Col. S. Kahn,	Fred Simon,	James Lowe,	J Leviburg,
M Cullin,	T C Webber,	A Hanauer,	E A Mudgett,
	J H Van Horne,	A Podlech,	

—FORT DOUGLAS.—

Gen A McD McCook,	Capt Munson,	Lieut Witherall,
Adj Groebeck,	Capt Crowl,	Lieut Walker.

The Management have sent East for New Costumes, and Everything will be done to make this event the Grandest of the season.

ADVERTISEMENT OF EIGHTH ANNUAL CARNIVAL AND BALL OF THE HEBREW BENEVOLENT AND RELIEF SOCIETIES, 1884

(From the Salt Lake *Tribune,* February 3, 1884)

for many years to support the needs of the growing Jewish community in its religious, philanthropic and social activities.

* * *

The early history of the Jews in Utah is a drama in itself, although it is closely related to the pioneer history of the western part of our country which has been described in many books.

Of great historical interest is the relationship of the Jews to the Mormons who were, for the most part, very sympathetic to the developing Jewish community in Utah. It is a remarkable fact that a comparatively small Jewish population could have developed a personality who succeeded in winning the esteem of the Mormon population and who was elected Governor of the State.

The later history of the Jews in Utah is material for further study and research. We have limited our investigation to their pioneer beginnings.

APPENDICES

BIOGRAPHIES

INTRODUCTION 107
SOLOMON NUNES CARVALHO 108
JULIUS AND FANNY BROOKS 123
NICHOLAS SIEGFRIED RANSOHOFF 126
THE KAHN BROTHERS 128
THE AUERBACH BROTHERS 131
CHARLES POPPER 134
ISIDORE AND AARON MORRIS 136
THE SIEGEL BROTHERS 138
LOUIS AND ALEXANDER COHN 140
THE WATTERS BROTHERS 142
GUMPERT GOLDBERG 155
JOSEPH D. FARMER 156
HENRY COHN 158
THE KUHN BROTHERS 160
MOSES HIRSCHMAN 161
MOSES CASPAR PHILLIPS 162
THE BAMBERGER BROTHERS 163
THE SIMON BROTHERS 170
THE BAUMGARTEN BROTHERS 172
H. S. KROUSE 173

INTRODUCTION

There were many among the early Jews of Utah whose careers are worthy of mention. All of them experienced the rigors and tribulations of pioneer life in the undeveloped Far West; but it is beyond the scope of the present research to include more than a few of them. The biographies which follow include (a) the earliest arrivals in Utah; (b) those who contributed most to the religious, civic and commercial development of the community and (c) those regarding whom some documentary information was available. An effort has been made to present them in the order of their arrival in Utah.

The source of the information concerning them is given in the foot-notes wherever possible but much of it derives from a reading of contemporaneous newspapers and books over a long period of years. Some information, too, has been secured from the descendants of these pioneers and much from the personal recollections of the writer who, as a youth in Utah, knew all of them intimately.

In the newspapers, books and documents of the period that we have covered, much interesting information concerning the early Jews in Utah is to be found which offers the scholar ample sources for future investigation. The limitation of space has not permitted the author to exhaust all of these sources in this study.

Solomon Nunes Carvalho: Explorer

Solomon Nunes Carvalho, an artist who accompanied John Charles Frémont on his last and ill-fated expedition to the Far West in 1853, left an enduring impress of his stay in Utah during the short time he remained there to recuperate from the harrowing experience he had undergone. The first information that the Frémont exploration party had emerged alive from the snow-covered mountain passes is contained in a letter written from Parowan, Utah, to a newspaper in Salt Lake City in 1854.[1] This letter, from one of the Mormon colony at that isolated outpost, gives confirmation to the desperation of the party, which Carvalho later described in his journal.

Carvalho, one of a family of rabbis, teachers, writers, and merchants of Spanish-Portuguese descent, was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1815, and died in New York City in 1894. At the early age of twenty, he had already achieved a considerable reputation as a portrait painter. Among his best-known portraits are those of Thomas Hunter, the founder of Hunter College in New York City, and of the Reverend Isaac Leeser of Philadelphia. Two of his paintings were hung in the interior of the old synagogue in Charleston.[2] His versatility was further exemplified in his authorship of a treatise on the Mosaic cosmogony under the title, "The Two Creations."[3] Finally, stands his achievement as artist and historian of the Frémont expedition, in which by sheer ability he rose to a position second only to that of the leader himself.

Two of Carvalho's sons later attained distinction in other fields. David Nunes Carvalho (1848–1925) was a celebrated handwriting expert, whose book *Forty Centuries of Ink* (New York, 1904), is an authoritative work on the detection of forgeries. His disclosures of the falsity of the documents employed in the conviction of Al-

[1] *Deseret News,* March 16, 1854.

[2] Charles Reznikoff, with the collaboration of Uriah Z. Engelman, *The Jews of Charleston: A History of an American Jewish Community* (Philadelphia, 1950), pp. 56, 57, 88, 109, 281; *The Occident* (January, 1853), pp. 503–504; Charles Macnamara, "The First Official Photographer," *The Scientific Monthly,* vol. XLIII, no. 1 (Jan., 1936), pp. 68–74.

[3] Barnett A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1905), pp. 187–188; *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia,* vol. III, pp. 55–56.

fred Dreyfus in France are said to have aided materially in the latter's final vindication. Another son, Solomon Solis Carvalho (1856–1942) was associated prominently with the New York *Sun* and the New York *World,* and afterwards was general manager of the Hearst publications.[4]

Carvalho's book, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West,*[5] is the only contemporary account of Frémont's last expedition, for, while the "pathfinder" wrote elaborate accounts of his four earlier expeditions, Carvalho's account is an epic. In addition to his lucid description of the virgin territory which the expedition traversed, and its fauna and flora, the artist-explorer paints a vivid and pathetic picture of the temptation to cannibalism which confronts starving man, and describes the thoughts of home and loved ones which pass through the minds of men when faced with death.[6]

How the artist conceived the idea of joining an exploring expedition is best told in his own words:

> On August 22nd, 1853, after a short interview with Col. J. C. Frémont, I accepted his invitation to accompany him as artist of an exploring expedition across the Rocky Mountains. A half hour previously, if anybody had suggested to me the probability of my undertaking an overland journey to California, even over the emigrant route, I should have replied there was no inducement sufficiently powerful to have tempted me. Yet, in this instance, I impulsively, without even a consultation with my family, passed my word to join an exploring party, under command of Colonel Frémont, over a hitherto untrodden country, in an elevated region, with full expectation of being exposed to all the inclemencies of an arctic winter.[7]

The little party which Carvalho joined near the city of St. Louis in the fall of 1853 for the journey across the Continent consisted of twenty-two persons of whom ten were Delaware Indians, while two others were of Mexican descent. The ten Americans in the

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 54. See his obituary, New York *Times,* April 13, 1942.

[5] Solomon Nunes Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West; with Col. Frémont's Last Expedition Across the Rocky Mountains: Including Three Months' Residence in Utah, and a Perilous Trip Across the Great American Desert, to the Pacific* (New York, 1857).

[6] Leon L. Watters, "Intrepid Artist-Explorer," *Liberal Judaism,* vol. XIV, no. 1 (May, 1946), pp. 39–43, and no. 2 (June, 1946), pp. 45–51.

[7] S. N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel, supra,* p. 17.

party, therefore, were in the minority. The group formed too small a band to guarantee its own security in the event of attack by hostile Indians. On this journey, Frémont failed to include such experienced guides as Kit Carson or Thomas Fitzpatrick, whom he had employed on his previous expeditions. The party was literally "on its own." Difficulties confronted them from the very start, causing delays for which they were to pay dearly later on.

Frémont had to return to St. Louis for medical treatment, and, while he was away, Carvalho perfected his technique in daguerreotype photography, chose a pony, learned how to saddle it, and practiced marksmanship. He could not then have realized that his acquired expertness with his pistol was destined subsequently to save the party from complete annihilation by Indians. He rode his pony on his first buffalo hunt, and subsequently wrote:

> Poor fellow! Little did I think that day, as he carried me, so full of life and high spirit, that in a few weeks he would be reduced to a mere skeleton, and that I should be obliged, in order to save my own life, to partake of his flesh. I shed tears when they shot him down, and I never think of his generous, willing qualities, but I lament the stern necessity that left his bones bleaching on the mountains.[8]

While the group awaited the return of Frémont, the prairies caught fire and extended "as far as the eye could see," so that the leader rejoined the camp only with the greatest difficulty. By the middle of December, 1853, they had crossed the plains, and found themselves in the Rocky Mountains at an altitude of 10,000 feet, in an utterly unknown and unexplored region of snow-covered mountains and canyons. From here on, Carvalho was to experience incidents which were to try his soul. These events brought forth qualities of endurance, ingenuity, and courage which he, a sensitive artist, never dreamed he possessed.

It must be borne in mind that the entire paraphernalia of an exploring party is carried by pack animals. Included are food, blankets, tents, firearms, and all kinds of scientific instruments. Each member rides his own horse, and all the animals depend upon native grasses for sustenance.

As the party was crossing a snow-covered ridge, the lead mule

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

slipped, and carried the whole train of fifty animals down several hundred feet to the bottom of a ravine. Luckily the deep snow saved them from destruction. But by now the party's food supply ran dangerously low, for the company had been late and slow in reaching the mountains, and the delays had caused more than the calculated consumption of their rations. It was bitter cold, and the snow was packed so deep that the animals could no longer dig down to the grass. Both men and beasts grew tired, weak and emaciated.

At the height of their despair, one of the Delaware Indians discovered what he thought to be a "wild" horse at a distance, which he immediately pursued and killed. To the delight of the starving men, the carcass was cut up, and used to assuage their hunger. Temporarily strengthened and heartened, none of the party had an inkling of the near tragedy that the killing of the supposed "wild" horse was soon to bring. They had encountered no Indians since entering these forbidding mountain fastnesses, but now soon after they had killed and eaten the "wild" horse, they discerned moccasin tracks in the snow, and at once set up a guard. After nightfall, they suddenly discovered their camp surrounded by Indians, who claimed that the "wild" horse killed by the Delaware was not wild at all, but one of their own. Angrily, they demanded satisfaction. Their attitude was threatening, for their keen perception quickly discerned the smallness and weakness of the white party. Frémont commissioned Carvalho to treat with them, but his offer of reimbursement for the horse was refused. It only whetted the Indians' demands for a share of everything the expedition possessed. No one in the party dared make a move, for they were at the mercy of the Indians. Carvalho consulted with Frémont, who shrewdly confided that he had observed the presence of squaws and children among the Indians. He said he knew from experience that Indians would never risk a fight under such conditions. With this in mind, Carvalho returned to his "parley," and persuaded the Indians to withdraw; but he feared that the danger had been only temporarily deferred, and his fears were shortly to be confirmed.

The expedition had proceeded only some thirty miles further when they were overtaken by a band of Utes, who came riding on them suddenly. These Indians in turn claimed that the killed

horse had belonged to them, and not to the other party. Here a desperate situation developed, for these Indians were well-mounted and well-supplied with rifles and bows and arrows and, furthermore, they were unencumbered with women and children. The Indians were fully aware that the whites were at their mercy. Both Frémont and Carvalho also realized this only too well. Clever strategy alone could save them, and it was for this reason that Frémont remained concealed in his tent and delegated to Carvalho the task of treating with the Indians. Frémont proposed that Carvalho give the Indians a demonstration of shooting with his pistol, a weapon with which the red men were not too familiar. Carvalho had perfected himself by practice until he was by now what was called in the West a "crack shot."

To accomplish his object in the most theatrical manner, Frémont tore a leaf of paper from his journal and told Carvalho to place it in the branches of a nearby tree. Then, the marksman, drawing his "six shooter" from its holster, rapidly fired six shots into the paper target. The faces of the Indians expressed amazement. They were markedly impressed. The thought probably went through their consciousness: here was a paleface who could shoot out of his wrist so accurately, so quickly and destructively, and at the same time fire six shots without reloading; what chance had they with their cumbersome rifles and bows and arrows? Observing that he had made an impression, Carvalho invited one of the Indians to try his hand with the pistol. The others stood by amazed and subdued, and finally agreed to ride away.[9]

The relief of the party can well be imagined. For Carvalho it was an achievement, but any exaltation he may have felt was short-lived. They again had escaped massacre by the Indians, but death, starvation and exhaustion soon faced them. As they plodded their weary way through the mountains, the cold became more intense, the snow in the mountain passes became deeper, while the food supply was too meager to sustain life. To add to their misery, the ice, while they crossed the frozen Grand River, broke through, and all were immersed in its freezing waters. Emaciated and disheartened, on the verge of delirium, Frémont discerned signs and had forebodings of what was passing through the minds of his tor-

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

mented men. On a previous expedition these same signs had been the prelude to cannibalism.

He called the men together for a conference. Here is how Carvalho describes the scene in his diary:

> It was a solemn occasion. Frémont related how, on a previous expedition, a party he had sent out to seek help had been guilty of eating one of their own members. He vigorously condemned the act and declared, "If we are to die, let us die together like men" and further that he himself would shoot any man who even hinted at such a proposition.

The leader's impassioned plea aroused the dormant instincts of the starved and numbed men. Carvalho wrote:

> The twenty-two men clasped hands and, with a "So help me God" made a solemn compact to stand by one another to the end.[10]

For some weeks the hopelessly disheartened men had been sustaining themselves by slaughtering one pack animal after another and living on its flesh. After having made this solemn pact, they slaughtered another, thus increasing the burdens on the remaining beasts of burden. The strength gained lasted but a short time, and the party again was without food. How dire was their distress is shown when Oliver Fuller, the assistant engineer, while on night sentry duty, shot a beaver, which was immediately eaten for breakfast. Poor Fuller! He who thus staved off starvation for the expedition for a few days was soon to give up his own life that some of the others might survive.

It was now the end of January, 1854—four months since the band had left the Missouri River. They had by now descended from an altitude of some 10,000 feet to 4,000, and were approaching the banks of the Green River past the western dividing line that now separates the states of Colorado and Utah. They saw Indians on the far bank, and abandoning all caution by their helplessness and yearning for aid, they crossed over only to discover that their fears were groundless, for the Indians were almost as badly off as the Frémont party and themselves so helpless as to be unable to harm others.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 101.

Here Carvalho records in his journal an innovation in nutrition. Searching for something eatable, he found that the Indians had saved up a considerable quantity of grass seed. He bartered for some and ate the morsel, later stating that it was his belief that the eating of this seed gave him strength to survive. The group bartered with the Indians for a lame and worthless horse, which they at once shot and divided among the party for food. They labored on until their strength was sapped completely. "Near the end of their rope," they killed a porcupine which they cooked and divided equally among the party of twenty-two.

How long could the flesh of one porcupine sustain so many mouths? During this time, they were subjecting their tired bodies to the torture of climbing through a mountain range covered deeply with snow. Up until then, they had killed and eaten twenty-seven of their pack animals and their own mounts, including Carvalho's treasured pony to which he had become so attached and which had carried him a thousand miles from the Missouri. The men were by now mostly on foot, with their remaining pack animals too weak to carry their loads further. Indeed the men found themselves too emaciated to go on.

The present writer has seen these Colorado-Utah mountain fastnesses in winter and can attest that even today, with detailed maps and modern equipment, travel through them tries the strength, courage and endurance of the hardiest of men. Indeed, another artist-explorer, Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, who traversed these mountains sixty years later, termed many of the passes through which the Frémont party passed in 1853 as having been "practically unknown." It might be added that Dellenbaugh gives high praise to the part played by Carvalho in extricating the expedition from its ghastly predicament.[11]

The vicissitudes of the Frémont party were, however, not at an end. Weak, starved, and hopelessly lost, they were yet to experience even starker tragedy before emerging from their desperate situation. The most pathetic incident of their adventure was yet to follow. In view of their condition, Frémont called the men into consultation and confided to them that their only hope of survival lay in travelling light and making a final, quick attempt to escape

[11] Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *Frémont and '49* (New York, 1914), pp. 432–434.

from the mountains. To effect this, they must of necessity be mounted, and this meant sacrificing the packs which the animals were bearing. Regretfully they discarded all of their paraphernalia, including all extra clothing, blankets, tents, and pack saddles. These they wrapped in buffalo robes, and "cached" in the snow, covering the mounds with brush to mark their location in the event of possible later recovery. The disposal of these reserves of equipment would leave them in grave danger should the plan for a quick dash to safety fail; but there was no alternative. From now on, as an animal gave out, it was shot by the Delawares who immediately cut its throat and saved its blood in the camp kettle and divided the carcass into twenty-two parts, one for each man.

At this stage, Carvalho records a touching incident in his journal, which discloses the hidden fears of the leader. Up to this juncture Frémont had eaten with his officers; the Indians and the two Mexicans, by preference, had continually eaten separately. Now Frémont asked to be allowed to eat alone. He confided to Carvalho that, in the present distress of the party, he could not free his tortured mind from the memory of the happening to an earlier expedition under similar circumstances, when the frantic men consumed one of their own number when delirious from starvation. Though his men had but recently taken a solemn oath against such a recurrence, Frémont knew to what extremes starvation and loss of hope could bring even the bravest of men.

Each animal killed put another man on foot, compelling him to keep up with the party by walking. To conserve as much of the slaughtered animal as possible so as to avoid having to kill too many, the party ate even the hoofs, hides, and entrails. As their situation continued to grow more and more precarious, they were also reduced to collecting the spiny leaves of cactus plants. They burned off the spines and gnawed the raw leaves, which Carvalho describes as tasting like the peelings of "Irish potatoes." Thus they continued for fifty days more, an eternity for men always half-starved, half-frozen, and almost shorn of hope.

Finally, to add to their desperation, Carvalho noted that Frémont himself was showing signs of weakness, which he desperately endeavored to conceal. There was one hope of getting out of the mountains, and that hope lay in determining their geographical position through instruments. Luckily they had saved a sextant

and some astronomical tables which enabled them to make observations and roughly compute their position. A contemporary artist's sketch shows Frémont and Carvalho lying on the crest of a mountain peak taking observations in the bitter cold.[12] According to Frémont's computation at this point, he insisted that the tiny Mormon settlement at Parowan (in what is now Utah) "must be beyond the mountains and immediately ahead." He thought they could reach the settlement in three days since the party was now in the southern extension of the Wasatch Mountains. The announcement may have inspired hope in the hearts of some of the men, but the Delawares maintained that the snow was so deep in Panguitch Canyon that passage through it could not be negotiated by the men and animals in their present weakened condition. But Frémont was determined to make the dash, and insisted that the men clear a path to the top of the ridge. What this task meant can be imagined. The distance up was a thousand feet and the angle of ascent forty-five degrees. But hope of escape marshalled the waning strength of the eager men to fulfill the task. Reaching the summit, alas what did they see? Not open country, but more snow-capped mountains stretching as far as their vision carried. In his journal Carvalho sadly noted "for the first time my heart failed me." The men were now mostly on foot, their mounts having been slaughtered for food; indeed they were practically barefoot as their boots had been worn out. Concerning the situation, Carvalho writes in his journal:

> I was the last man on the trail; one of my feet was badly frozen. Alone, disabled, with no possibility of assistance from mortal man, I felt my last hour had come . . . Night approached and I looked in vain the direction our party had proceeded . . . Naught but a desert waste of eternal snow met my gaze . . . I removed from my pocket the miniatures of my wife and children, to take a last look at them. Their dear smiling faces awakened fresh energy . . . I determined to try and get to the camp. I dared not rest my fatigued body, for to rest was to sleep, and sleep was that eternal repose which wakes only in another world. Offering up a silent prayer, I prepared to proceed. I examined my gun and pistols so as to be prepared if attacked by wolves or Indians, and resumed my lonely and desolate journey.[13]

[12] See *Liberal Judaism*, vol. XIV, no. 1 (May, 1946), p. 41.
[13] S. N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel, supra*, pp. 122–123.

For five weary months these men had been completely separated from all contact with the outside world. Their wives and families in the East knew not whether they were dead or alive. Were they to have perished here, their end would have remained forever a mystery. Some of the territory through which they had passed is even today unvisited. But Frémont, using a pocket compass, led the party on. Eventually they descended from the mountains which were bare of vegetation, and entered a valley with plenty of grass where they discovered deer tracks in the snow. Knowing the ambition of every Indian to possess a rifle of his own, Frémont promised one to the first Delaware who brought in a deer. Spurred to action by this offer, one of the Indians pursued and killed a fine buck, which the starving men eagerly devoured.

But such strength as this gave their emaciated bodies had come too late for one of them—Oliver Fuller, the assistant engineer. He began to lag, and Carvalho writes:

> I had assisted him on his mule that morning, and roasted the prickles from some cactus leaves, which we dug from the snow, for his breakfast; he told me that he was sure he could not survive and did not want to leave the camp.[14]

Carvalho and Egloffstein, the topographer, insisted on remaining behind with him, and exhausted every effort to encourage and help him. Their solicitude resulted only in having three members of the party, instead of one, straggling farther and farther behind the main group. Instead of the chance of one perishing in the party, now three were endangered. Fuller, realizing this, pleaded with his two friends to leave him, and rush on to join the main party before it was too late. The two could do nothing but accept this choice, as bitter as it was for them. They wrapped Fuller in the only remaining blanket, and placed him across the trail with his back toward the wind. There was no wood with which to make a fire.

The two then plodded on through the black night; the snow was falling and the difficulties of following the trail were so great that it was ten o'clock when they dropped exhausted at the rim of the camp, which the main group had prepared. At once, they gathered together what scraps of food remained, placed it in the hands

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 134.

of one of the Mexicans, put him on a horse with an additional one for Fuller, and sent him back on the trail. All night the men waited in suspense, but no sign was seen either of Fuller or the Mexican who had been dispatched to fetch him. At daybreak they could bear the suspense no longer, and sent three Delawares to the rescue. At ten in the morning one of the Indians returned to camp with the exhausted Mexican, who in searching for Fuller had himself become lost and almost perished. To have sent out another searching party would have imperilled more lives, so the camp passed a day of torturous waiting for some word. Then, as darkness again approached, the remaining Delawares arrived with Fuller. He was "more dead than alive, his feet frozen black to his ankles." To attempt to take him along in his present condition would dangerously slow up the whole expedition, and there was obviously little prospect of his surviving. Nevertheless Frémont, with the whole party agreeing, remained in camp for three days, to the peril of all of them, in an effort to save Fuller. Finally, they mounted him on a horse, placed an Indian on each side of him for support, and continued on their way. But, very soon after, Fuller died in the saddle from which, had he been able, he might have seen signs of early succor. Sadly the famished men wrapped him in a blanket and laid his body across the trail.

Shortly thereafter, Carvalho writes:

> Turning my eyes on the waste of snow before me, I remarked to my companion [Egloffstein] that I thought we had struck a traveled road . . . dismounting from my mule with the greatest of difficulty, I thrust my hand into the snow when, to my great delight, I distinctly felt the ruts caused by wagon wheels.[15]

Half an hour before they came in sight of the little Mormon settlement of Parowan, Carvalho again writes:

> I felt so totally incapable of continuing that I told Colonel Frémont to leave me there; when I was actually in the town . . . paroxysms of tears followed each other, and I fell down in the snow perfectly overcome.[16]

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 135.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

The party arrived in the settlement February 7, 1854, and was hospitably received by the Mormon inhabitants. The first act upon their arrival was to send back a party to recover Fuller's body. Carvalho was all but done. He writes:

> My hair was long, my face unwashed, and ground with dirt. My hands were in a dreadful state; my fingers were frostbitten and split in every joint. I was suffering from diarrhea and scurvy; emaciated to a degree, my eyes were sunken and my clothes torn to tatters.[17]

He weighed scarcely one hundred pounds, having lost over fifty pounds during the journey.

After recuperating, the Frémont party moved on to California, but Carvalho, being in no condition to move further, was left at Parowan. Here he had his first contact with the Mormon people, which was to last for some ten weeks. His journal continues:

> I was conducted by a Mr. Heap to his dwelling, where I was treated hospitably. I was mistaken for an Indian by the people of Parowan . . . When I entered Mr. Heap's house I saw three beautiful children. I covered my eyes and wept for joy to think that I might yet embrace my own . . . I remained from the 8th to the 21st February [1854] at Parowan . . . I left for Great Salt Lake City in a wagon belonging to a large company of Mormons . . . I was so weak that I had to be lifted in and out like a child. To the kind attentions of Mr. Henry Lunt . . . I was indebted for some necessaries . . . Mr. Egloffstein accompanied me, his physical condition being similar to my own . . . We arrived at Great Salt Lake City on the night of the 1st of March, 1854 and took lodgings at Blair's hotel.[18]

Here they met the survivors of Capt. John W. Gunnison's expedition, which had been massacred by the Indians, and Egloffstein joined them as a topographical engineer. Carvalho declined an appointment since it was his intention to follow Frémont to California. The Mormons supplied him with painting materials and the explorer again turned artist, and painted the portraits of a number of Mormon dignitaries.[19] Carvalho states in his journal:

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 136.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 136 ff.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 140. He painted the portraits of Brigham Young, Lt. Gen. Daniel H. Wells, Mr. Abraham O. Smoot, Gen. Thomas H. Ferguson, Apostle Wood-

> After I was comfortably settled, I called on Governor [Brigham] Young and was received by him with marked attention.

Thus began a friendship which continued until Carvalho left the Territory. The journal continues:

> I received a good deal of marked attention from his excellency, Governor Young; he often called for me to take a drive in his carriage, and invited me to come and live with him, during the period I sojourned there. This invitation I refused, as I wished to be entirely independent to make observations. I told Brigham Young that I was making notes, with a view to publish them. The Mormon leader replied, "Only publish facts and you may publish as many as you please."[20]

As a result of Carvalho's observations, he did publish in his book a description of the city as it then appeared, with comments on the origin and practices of the religion of the Latter-Day Saints. He was invited to attend a ball given by Brigham Young, and tells of his search for clothes suitable for the occasion; after a fruitless search, he borrowed what was requisite from a visitor. At the dinner, he was seated at the Governor's table. Early in May, Carvalho felt sufficiently recovered to continue on to California, and was invited by Brigham Young to join a party which he intended to conduct to southern Utah. The Jewish explorer was not quite ready to proceed, but he later met Young's party at "Petetnit." The journal records:

> When I rode up, I saw the commanding person of the Governor, towering above the crowd of men by whom he was encircled. As soon as he saw me, he approached; I alighted to greet him, he received me as he always did, in a most cordial manner . . . I went to a meeting where Apostle Benson preached a sermon on the restoration of Israel to Jerusalem, which would have done honor to a speaker of Hebrew persuasion.[21]

ruf, Mrs. Wheelock, and others. Levi Edgar Young stated to the writer that he believed that two of these portraits, including the one of Brigham Young, are in the possession of the Museum of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers in Salt Lake City and are unsigned.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 185.



SKETCH OF A DEAD CHILD, 1854

By Solomon Nunes Carvalho

(Courtesy of William R. Palmer)

In the morning Carvalho was invited to breakfast with Governor Young, who also invited him to join in the conference held with Chief Wakara looking toward making a treaty with the Indians.[22] The Jewish explorer painted a portrait of the Chief and made many sketches of the surrounding country. He continued on mule back to Parowan, and revisited those who had befriended him when he had emerged from the mountains three months earlier. Here he made a sketch of a child who had just passed away.[23] Of this incident Carvalho wrote a touching story:

> The morning after my arrival in Parowan, I arose early and taking my sketch-book along, I sauntered around the city. In the course of my wanderings, I saw a man walking up and down before an adobe shanty, apparently much distressed. I approached him and inquired the cause of his trouble. He told me that his little daughter, age six, had died suddenly in the night. He pointed to the door and I entered the dwelling. Laid out upon a straw mattress, but very clean, was one of the most angelic children I ever saw. On its face was a peaceful smile, and it looked more like the gentle repose of healthful sleep, than the everlasting slumber of death. Beautiful curls clustered around a brow of snow whiteness. I entered very softly, and did not disturb the afflicted mother, who reclined on the bed, her face buried in the pillow, sobbing as if her heart would break. Without a second's reflection, I commenced making a sketch of the child, and in course of half an hour, I had made a good likeness of her. A slight movement in the room caused the mother to look around, and on seeing me, I apologized for my intrusion, telling her that I was a member of the Governor's party that had arrived the night before. I tore the leaf out of my note book and presented it to her, and it is impossible to describe the delight and joy she expressed at its possession. She said I was an angel sent from heaven to comfort her. I bid her place her trust in Him "Who giveth and taketh away," and left her. I went out unperceived by the bereaved father, who was still walking up and down bowed in grief. I continued my walk, contemplating

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 186–187.

[23] A copy of Carvalho's sketch, photographed from the original, was kindly furnished the writer by Mr. William R. Palmer of Cedar City, Utah. Mr. Palmer writes: "This child died in Cedar City instead of Parowan, as Carvalho records it. The Harrison family lived here [Cedar City] and the child is buried here. This was in Parowan Stake and that perhaps is how the artist got that name." See also Levi Edgar Young, *The Founding of Utah* (New York, 1923), pp. 48–49.

the strange combination of events which gave this poor woman a single ray of peace for her sorrowing heart. When I was about starting the next day, I discovered in the wagon a basket filled with eggs, butter, and several loaves of bread, and a note containing these words: "From a grateful heart."[24]

On May 22, 1854, Carvalho took breakfast with Governor Young, who gave him a letter of introduction to the head of the Mormon Church at San Bernardino, California. He left on the trail west with a party of Mormon missionaries en route for the Sandwich Islands. Carvalho arrived at San Bernardino on June 9th, riding a mule the whole distance. He then went on to Los Angeles and San Francisco and from there returned to his home in the East via steamer.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 247–249.

Julius and Fanny Brooks

Julius Gerson Brooks and his wife, Fanny, were the first Jews to arrive in Utah who established a permanent residence there. They arrived in Great Salt Lake City sometime previous to July, 1854.[1] Others had arrived earlier but remained only for a few weeks or months before going on to the Pacific coast.

Brooks was one of sixteen children of a family originally known as "Bruck."[2] He was born in the town of Schweidnitz, some twenty miles distant from Frankenstein, Silesia, in 1825. The family traced its history back for a thousand years. As a youth, he was apprenticed first to a cloth merchant and then to a tanner. At the age of twenty-one he took passage on a sailing vessel to New York where a sister, Mrs. Henry Sidenberg, lived. To secure some acquaintance with the language and customs of his adopted country he peddled through New England. Having acquired a moderate competence, he returned to Breslau and there married his bride, Fanny, who was then sixteen years old.[3] The young couple returned to New York on a sailing vessel that took six weeks to make the crossing. Like many of his compatriots who later settled in Utah, Brooks soon felt the urge to seek new fields further west, where competition was less keen than on the Atlantic seaboard. Accordingly the young couple started across the country about the year 1853 and settled down in Galena, Illinois. Here, at a farm house, they met a young officer in the United States Army who had returned from an assignment in Oregon.[4] Brooks told his daughter, many years afterward, that both he and his wife were fascinated by the young lieutenant's tales of the Far West but that they little dreamed that they had met one who was destined to lead

[1] Diary of Alexander Neibaur, July 9, 1854.

[2] Alfred Julius Bruck, "The Bruck Family: A Historical Sketch of a Jewish Family Through a Thousand Years," *Historia Judaica,* vol. IX, no. 2 (Oct., 1947), pp. 159–177; and a letter to the present writer from Alfred Julius Bruck, Jan. 15, 1949.

[3] Most of the information concerning Brooks was secured from his daughter, the late Mrs. Samuel H. Auerbach. Some data concerning him was published in the Salt Lake newspapers following his death in 1892.

[4] *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1892), vol. I, p. 202.

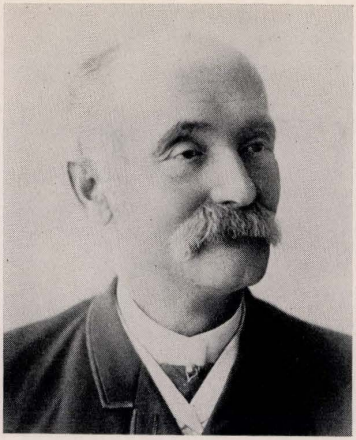
the Union Armies during the Civil War and ultimately to become President of his country. The lieutenant was Ulysses S. Grant.

They decided to set out for the Rocky Mountain region and, in accordance with the procedure at that time, they purchased a covered wagon, a pair of mules and the usual accessories required for overland travel. All of these were readily available since Galena was one of the outfitting points for western travel. Learning that a small party of Plains travellers had met with disaster at the hands of the Indians, they decided to join a company of fourteen other wagon teams which left in the spring of 1854. Both had become inured to the hardship of travel, the dust of the prairies, the incessant jolting, the coarse food and the coarser language of the freighters. They did not dare think about the fear of the Indians. Each day brought new incidents, new vistas and new hopes as the gradually ascending grades brought them almost imperceptibly to the Rocky Mountains. Following the Mormon Trail, they arrived in mid-1854, at Great Salt Lake City. On July 9th of that year, Alexander Neibaur, who had been in Utah since 1848, wrote in his diary:

> Mr. Julius Brooks from Schweidnitz, in Silesia, informed me that he had seen my father.[5]

Brooks remained in Utah for about three years where he engaged in various businesses. Then the "wanderlust" which was common to all pioneers led him to move first to the thriving mining town of Marysville, California, and then to another mining town called "Timbuctoo," where a daughter, Eveline, was born. Upon learning that the parents of his wife had landed in New York, the couple with their baby returned to New York, via Panama, a journey attended with considerable discomfort. They had hardly rested there when the lure of the West caused them to return to San Francisco, again via Panama. Thence they went to Portland, Oregon, where Mrs. John Gilbert, a relative, lived. From there they travelled by stage-coach to Boise, Idaho, but soon tired of that mining town and returned to Salt Lake City. Here Mrs. Brooks engaged for a time in the millinery business and her husband carried on various types of enterprises including the purchase of real

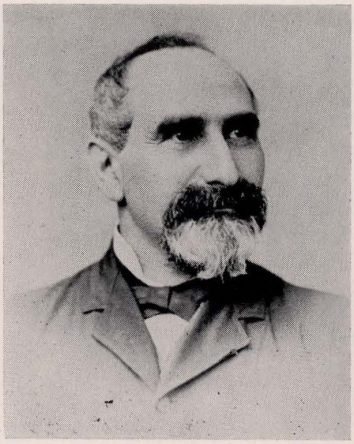
[5] Diary of Alexander Neibaur, *supra*, note 1, p. 124.



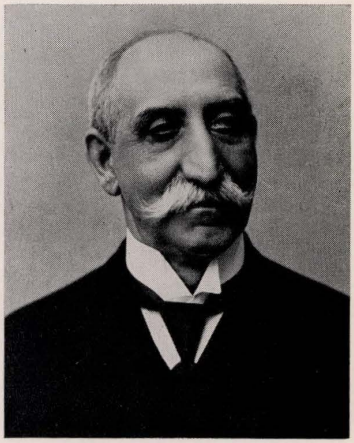
JULIUS GERSON BROOKS



FANNY BROOKS



FREDERICK S. AUERBACH



SAMUEL H. AUERBACH

estate. On a narrow plot on the west side of Main Street, just north of Third South Street, he erected a building of elaborately carved grey stone which still stands. He was also a pioneer in attracting business to the southwestern section of the city. On a piece of property which he owned on the northwest corner of State and Third South Streets, his grandchildren, members of the Auerbach family, erected a building, known as "The Brooks Arcade," in his memory. In later years, Brooks and his wife spent much of their time at the Italian Riviera. Mr. Brooks passed away in Salt Lake City, in 1892, and his wife died in Italy, in 1901. Both are buried in the Jewish cemetery in Salt Lake. Their children were Evelyn [the late Mrs. Samuel H. Auerbach], George J., Edgar Gerson [one of the earliest students from Utah to enter Harvard College, where he died in 1888], and Milton J., none of whom survive.

Nicholas Siegfried Ransohoff

In the contemporaneous records of the pioneer period in Utah the name Ransohoff appears with great frequency, indicating the importance of the activities of Nicholas Siegfried Ransohoff in the business life of the community. He and his brother, Elias, were born in Westphalia, Germany, and came to America about 1845 as youths. They resided in Philadelphia for some five years.[1]

Nicholas went "around the Horn" to San Francisco in 1849 and, after accumulating a competence, returned to Philadelphia, there married Aurelia Lobenberg and returned with his bride to the West. The precise date of his coming to Utah is not known but it must have been some time previous to 1859 since letters were awaiting him at the post-office in Salt Lake City in November of that year.[2] Beadle, writing of the entrance of Johnston's army in July, 1858, mentions him:

> The entrance of Johnston's army . . . was followed by a season of unusual fruitfulness. . . . A prominent firm of those days was Ransohoff & Co., long the leading Jewish firm, who built the best stone store in the city.[3] . . . He had extensive dealings with Brigham Young, who was for a time on the best of terms with the Gentile merchants. When Johnston's army left, he [Ransohoff] advanced Young the sum of $30,000 with which to purchase army pork.[4]

In the years 1864–1865, Ransohoff & Company dealt very extensively in supplies much needed in the Territory. Theirs was the largest advertisement in the local Mormon newspaper. The premium for gold over paper money which existed during the Civil War days is indicated by the statement in their advertisement to the effect that they would "pay the highest prices for gold and gold dust."[5] In 1864, Conrad Prag and Abraham Gans were taken

[1] Information supplied by his son, the late Nelson Ransohoff.

[2] Salt Lake City *Valley Tan*, Nov. 12, 1858.

[3] J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah, supra*, p. 199; the Salt Lake City *Vedette* [a newspaper], Jan. 11, 1864, and April 6, 1864.

[4] J. H. Beadle, *Life in Utah, supra*, p. 200; Salt Lake *Telegraph*, July 16, 1864.

[5] *Deseret News*, May 4, 1864.

into the firm.[6] Ransohoff was one of the earliest Jews, if not the first, to freight goods across the Plains from the East, a venture attendant with many risks. Inclement weather or attacks by the Indians might cost the loss of a wagon train and the financial ruin of the freighter. Thus one account reads:

> From a telegram received in this city, we learn that Capt. Patterson's train was at Deer Creek yesterday morning in bad condition, cattle were dying and the train unlikely to move much further without assistance. Those interested in that train had better see to assistance called for in oxen and flour. Capt. Sharp's train of merchandise for Ransohoff & Co. has lost heavily in the same region.[7]

Nicholas Ransohoff himself appears to have crossed the Plains on several occasions, a trip involving considerable hardship and danger. In 1866, it was reported that the wagon behind Ransohoff's had been attacked by Indians and the whole party butchered, "the bodies being badly mutilated and all scalped, except James King." The horses and goods were taken off by the Indians.[8] It is understandable that freighting was considered highly speculative and this, in some measure, justified the high profits demanded for the merchandise so transported. At the height of his success Ransohoff established branches of their business at Ogden and at Corinne.[9]

Ransohoff's friendship with the head of the Mormon Church was rewarded when, at the formation of the Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, his was the only Gentile (i.e. non-Mormon) business purchased by them.[10]

Nicholas S. Ransohoff was one of the founders of Congregation B'nai Israel and of the "Liberal" [non-Mormon] political party. Throughout his life he lived in Salt Lake City where he died in February, 1884.

[6] *Vedette,* April 6, 1864.
[7] Salt Lake *Telegraph,* July 16, 1864.
[8] *Ibid.,* Sept. 3, 1864.
[9] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. II, p. 163.
[10] See chapter VI, "Commercial Development," *supra,* p. 56.

The Kahn Brothers

Of the three Kahn brothers, Samuel, Emanuel and Louis, only the first two came to Utah. Louis Kahn remained in Philadelphia. The eldest, Samuel, was born in Prussia in 1836, and the second, Emanuel, in 1844. Samuel Kahn came to America in 1851 as a boy of fifteen and lived in Philadelphia for about seven years. Going West, at the age of twenty-two, he spent two years in Danville, Illinois, and in Kansas Territory, which was then in the throes of "border troubles." In 1859, he purchased a stock of general merchandise and joined a wagon train en route to Utah. Arriving at Salt Lake City, he quickly disposed of his merchandise and returned East for more. On the return trip, while crossing the Plains, his partner, named Nathan, wandered away from the party, and was subsequently murdered by the Indians.[1] In 1860, he started East again, riding all the way to the Missouri River on horseback. Returning to Salt Lake City with another load of merchandise, he became a partner in the firm of N. S. Ransohoff & Co. In 1863, he joined with George Bodenberg under the firm name of Bodenberg & Kahn, which became one of the leading distributors of groceries throughout Utah, Idaho, and Montana.

An article appearing in a local paper in 1864, describes the business conditions in glowing terms.[2]

When the danger of freighting merchandise across the Plains became too great because of Indian raids, Kahn undertook to ship goods by sea from the East, around Cape Horn to California and then, by wagon train, to Salt Lake. His advertisement in a local paper states:

> Freighter Wanted!!! To haul 20,000 pounds of merchandise from lower California.
>
> Bodenberg & Kahn.[3]

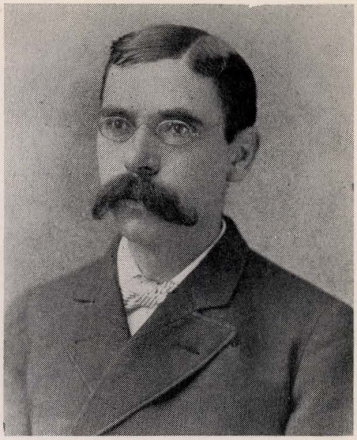
In its news column, the same newspaper drew attention to "the great Indian panic on the Plains."

In 1867, the firm of Bodenberg & Kahn was dissolved. Samuel

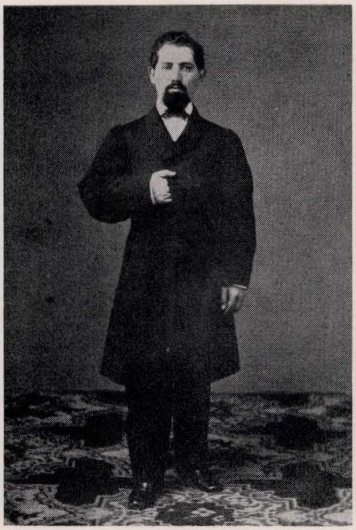
[1] Salt Lake *Tribune*, Jan. 25, 1885.
[2] Salt Lake *Telegraph*, July 16, 1864, see *supra*, pp. 46–47.
[3] Salt Lake *Telegraph*, Nov. 2, 1864.



SAMUEL KAHN



EMANUEL KAHN



NICHOLAS S. RANSOHOFF



RANSOHOFF'S STORE

Kahn then joined with his brother, Emanuel, under the name Kahn Brothers. This firm continued for many years as one of the leading wholesale grocers in Utah. Throughout the intermountain country the name Kahn was pronounced "cane."

Samuel Kahn was known as "Colonel" Kahn, probably because of an appointment to the Governor's staff. His name appears with frequency in contemporaneous books and newspapers for he interested himself not only in business, but also was active in political and civic affairs. He was one of the financial backers of the *Peep o' Day* which was started in 1864, and is said to have been the first magazine published west of the Missouri River.[4] In 1866, he was married to Sarah Cohen, and his brother, Emanuel, later married Fanny Cohen—both daughters of Briner Cohen. Samuel Kahn's home on South Main Street, between Fifth and Sixth South Streets, was a center of social activity in the early days. Here, visiting celebrities were received. Here, the Vice-President of the United States, Schuyler Colfax, was entertained in 1869. Samuel Kahn, as we have already indicated, was a prominent member of the "Young Men's Literary Association," which joined with other "Gentile" groups in building Independence Hall, the center of non-Mormon activities. His connection with this organization gave rise to the anomalous situation of Kahn, a practicing Jew, becoming a trustee of the Congregational Church.[5] Other Jews who supported Independence Hall were Elias Ransohoff, Fred Auerbach and Nelse Boukofsky. Kahn was active in forming a group to celebrate the second inauguration of President Abraham Lincoln in 1865.[6]

During the violent clashes between the Mormon and anti-Mormon groups which culminated in the murder of Dr. J. King Robinson, the superintendent of Independence Hall, Kahn joined with other Jews and Gentiles in posting a reward for the apprehension of the murderers. In this period, non-Mormons never walked on the sidewalks after dusk, but always in the middle of the streets, carrying their revolvers in their hands.[7] When the "Liberal" (anti-

[4] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City,* Appendix, p. 9.

[5] See chapter VIII, "Religious Activities," *supra,* p. 70.

[6] *Deseret News,* Feb. 28, 1865; O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. II, p. 115.

[7] T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints, supra,* p. 628.

Mormon) Party was formed in 1870, Kahn was one of its organizers, and ran for office.[8] Samuel Kahn died in Philadelphia, in 1885, where he had gone for medical treatment.

Emanuel Kahn, a quiet and reserved man, interested himself in the religious affairs of the community, and was a trustee and officer of Congregation B'nai Israel. He died in Salt Lake City, in 1906.

[8] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. II, pp. 308, 464.

The Auerbach Brothers

The names of the Auerbach brothers are closely linked with the development of business in Utah for they were probably the most successful of the Jewish merchants. The enterprises which they established survive to this day under the management of their descendants.[1] There were three brothers, all of whom were born in Prussia: Frederick (1836), Samuel H. (1847) and Theodore (date of birth unknown). Their careers follow closely the pattern set by so many of the young emigrants of the period. Arriving at the Atlantic seaboard from Europe, they remained in the East long enough to acquire a knowledge of the language and customs of their adopted country and then set out for California via the Panama route. There, in the many mining camps which had sprung up throughout the mountains, they experienced all of the trials and vicissitudes common to the "gold rush" days, until they finally settled and attained success in Utah.[2] Their first store was a tent at Rabbit Creek, a "mushroom" mining town in California, to which merchandise could be brought in only on mule-back. Following the discovery of gold at a place called Bodie, they opened a second store there. They remained in California until 1863, and then moved to Austin, Nevada, where a mining boom was in progress. Here they met with considerable financial losses but all of the debts which they had incurred there were subsequently paid off in full. Finally, Frederick set out for Salt Lake City with a load of merchandise and arrived there in 1864. He called upon Brigham Young and was kindly received. The President of the Mormon Church personally assisted him in securing a site for a store in a one-story adobe building on Main Street.[3] The friendship thus begun, continued for many years. Contemporary pictures show the sign of their first store reading "The Peoples Store, F. Auerbach

[1] Considerable information concerning the Auerbach brothers is to be found in Ms. PF-15 at the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

[2] Information concerning them with pictures of their stores is to be found in an illustrated booklet written by Herbert S. Auerbach (a son of Samuel) and issued by the Auerbach Co. under the title *Seventy-Five Years of the Auerbach Company,* on their "Diamond Anniversary" in 1939, at Salt Lake City.

[3] *Seventy-Five Years of the Auerbach Co., supra.*

& Brothers," indicating that Theodore and Samuel were his partners at the time. Samuel had driven a second load of merchandise from Austin to Salt Lake City. Theodore returned to New York some time thereafter and the firm became "F. Auerbach & Bro."[4]

Their business prospered from the start; its size and location was changed several times until they purchased considerable desirable property on Main Street and erected a building which compared favorably with any in the city. With the coming of the Union Pacific Railroad the Auerbachs established branch stores at Bryan, Wyoming, and at Promontory, Utah, to cater to the wants of the large groups of railway builders,—and another store at Ogden. From their Salt Lake City headquarters they built up a successful jobbing business, and sent salesmen throughout Utah and Idaho in "buckboards," which were light, horse-drawn vehicles suitable for the poor roads then existing. By 1883, their business had reached a half-million dollars a year and it continued to increase. They invested heavily in real estate which became increasingly valuable as the population grew.

Both of the Auerbach brothers abjured politics and resisted efforts to induce them to accept public office. Their attitude toward public affairs in general during the bitter struggle between the Mormon and Gentile factions was set forth in a confidential statement given to the historian, Hubert H. Bancroft:

> We came to Utah in 1864 from Austin, Nevada, where we had met with considerable losses. We were largely in debt to creditors in San Francisco, Levi Strauss and others, whom we have paid in full in gold coin, when we might have paid them in currency. We met all our engagements in gold coin when it was 240.[5] This [action] enabled us to go on to the eastern markets with all the recommendations that could be asked for.
>
> Our business gradually increased until 1868 when the institution known as Z.C.M.I. was started.[6] For a time this seemed to threaten our existence as merchants here and, had it not been

[4] Salt Lake *Telegraph,* Dec. 14, 1864.

[5] During the Civil War days United States "greenbacks" were legal tender for debts but were at a considerable discount as compared with gold coin.

[6] Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, as indicated above, was established with the intent to confine purchases of the Mormon people to businesses owned by their own church members. See *supra,* chapter VI, "Commercial Development," pp. 55 ff.

for the discovery of minerals here and the development of the mining industry, it would have certainly proven unprofitable for us to stay in this Territory. Mining business started about 1870 and from that time on our business has, with the prosperity of the Territory, in general increased or declined. We have abstained from interference in the political status of the Territory, having come here as merchants and not missionaries. A petition was circulated here, prior to the passage of the Edmunds Bill, to prevent the passage by Congress of that or any similar bill. . . . We refused to sign it on the grounds that we have never interfered with political affairs.[7] That was used by the Mormon merchants against us and, for a time, it made inroads on our Mormon jobbing trade. But, having come here to stay, pleased with the surroundings and the city and believing in the growth and future of the city and the Territory, we are satisfied that these are merely periodical matters that we are apt to encounter and from which we are apt to recover. . . . Trading upon an ample capital and with a view of treating every one as merchants should, giving 100 cents for a dollar, our sales have increased to over half-a-million dollars a year with a stock amounting to about half of that amount. . . . Owning our property, which is one of the best business blocks in the city, and owning also other city property, and feeling that we are citizens of the Territory and interested in its prosperity . . . we are here to stay.[8]

Thus the Auerbach brothers weathered the storm. With changing conditions, the prohibition of Mormons trading with "Gentiles" was ultimately relaxed and both the wealth and influence of the Auerbachs in mercantile affairs increased.[9]

Both brothers interested themselves in Jewish affairs and Frederick became President of the B'nai Israel Congregation in 1884. He never married, but the younger brother, Samuel, married Evelyn Brooks, a daughter of Julius Gerson Brooks. At his death, in 1920, he was survived by eight children: Herbert S., Josephine (Mrs. Joseph Siegel), George, Bessie, Selma (Mrs. Gustav Mohr), Madeline (Mrs. Gerard Werner), Frederick and Jennie. At this writing only Mrs. Werner, Mrs. Mohr and Bessie survive.

[7] The Edmunds, Edmunds-Tucker and other Federal laws sought to disfranchise members of the Mormon Church during the crusade against polygamy.

[8] Ms. PF-15, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

[9] *Deseret News,* July 20, 1935.

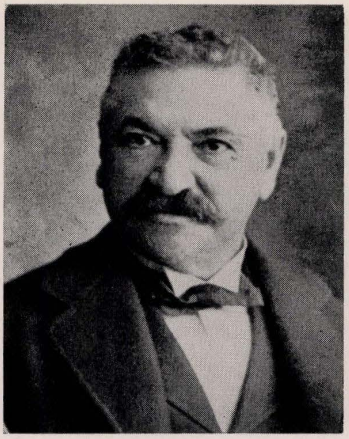
Charles Popper

Charles Popper was the first Jewish rancher in Utah, as far as we are able to discover, and, being a man of sturdy physique, was well fitted to endure the rigors of pioneering life in the "wild open places." He was born in Bohemia and came to New York as a youth. In 1850, he took passage on a sailing vessel, around Cape Horn, to San Francisco. He remained in California for some years. Like so many of the others who ultimately came to Utah, he was attracted to Virginia City, Nevada, during the mining excitement of the "Comstock Lode." When the mining boom there began to decline, he went on to Salt Lake City in 1864. Hearing that his parents had arrived in New York from Europe, he crossed the Plains and met them in St. Louis.

On his return to Salt Lake City, he, together with Jacob Ornstein, opened a butcher shop on West First South Street, between Main and West Temple Streets, the first non-Mormon butcher shop in Utah. Shortly thereafter, he again crossed the Plains to St. Louis and there married Carlotta Baumgarten, a woman of great charm and beauty, also born in Bohemia. The couple returned by railroad as far as Cheyenne, Wyoming, which was then the terminus, and then proceeded by stage to Salt Lake. To supply the wants of his growing business, he opened a slaughter-house at Warm Springs, near Salt Lake City, to supply the shops on "Market Row." When Popper closed his shop on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, the Mormon butchers, out of regard for Popper, also closed their shops. Popper reciprocated then by closing his shop on "Pioneer Day," the Mormon holiday.

When the two Lannan brothers, Patrick and Martin, came to Salt Lake, they joined with Popper in opening the most pretentious butcher shop in the city on the east side of Main between Second and Third South Streets. During the winter holiday season, this shop made an inviting display of dressed meats including venison and whole carcasses of deer and bear, all gaily decorated with festoons of colored papers, which never failed to invite the curiosity of the passing crowd.

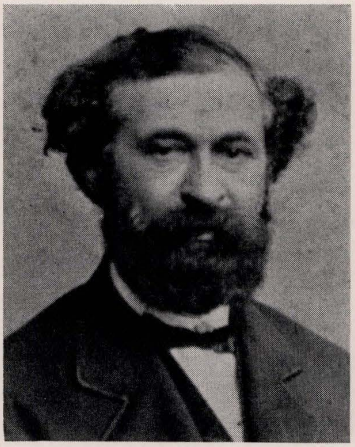
His next venture was the purchase of a tract of land consisting of some 150 acres on the "Bench" at the mouth of Dry Canyon for which he obtained title by a special act of Congress. Some of



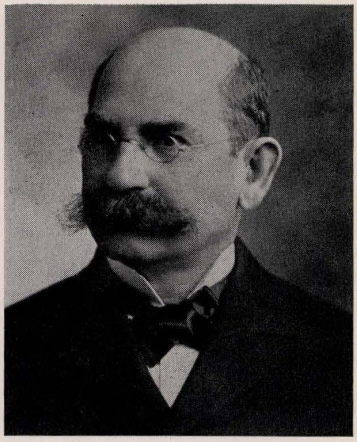
CHARLES POPPER



CARLOTTA POPPER



MOSES HIRSCHMAN



HENRY J. SIEGEL

this land in later years became the site of the present fashionable residential section of the city, still known as "Popperton." Popper established a slaughter-house and also a soap and candle factory here, one of the earliest of such factories between Omaha and San Francisco.[1] He then took up large tracts of land at the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains where the Utah-Colorado state line ran through it. To it, he added the Aaron Keyser and the Marshall & Royle ranches and thus became one of the largest raisers of beef cattle in the intermountain region. He became the supplier of beef to the Federal troops stationed in Utah. He furnished the beef to the Government at a price of nine and three-quarters cents a pound.[2] Present-day housewives will look enviously at the prices quoted by Popper for meats:

> Charles Popper at the City Market, announces the following prices: Porterhouse & Loins 15¢ a pound; Rounds and Chucks 8¢; Choice Rib Roasts 12½¢; Mutton Quarters 10¢.[3]

In 1865, he organized Utah Lodge No. 1, Independent Order of Odd Fellows. In 1869, he built what was then considered a most ostentatious residence on the east side of West Temple Street just north of Third South Street which became a center for social functions of the day and in which Jewish services were held in the early days. He was one of the founders of Congregation B'nai Israel and its first treasurer. At the height of the antagonism between the Mormons and non-Mormons in 1869, Popper, with Ichel Watters, as we have already indicated above, was severely mauled and barely escaped with his life.

The children of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Popper were Rebecca, Lulu, Isaac, William, and Rudolph. Only William survives at the time of this writing. The family moved to New York in 1885 where Charles Popper died in 1909.

[1] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. II, pp. 535–536.
[2] Record Book, Ft. Douglas, Utah, July 26, 1870.
[3] Salt Lake *Telegraph,* Sept. 22, 1867.

Isidore and Aaron Morris

Several Jews came to Utah as soldiers in the United States Army. As early as 1853, one, named Meyers but otherwise unidentified, came with Colonel E. J. Steptoe's troops.[1] Two others, who arrived with Colonel Patrick E. Connor's California Volunteers in 1862, were Solomon Cahen and Isidore Morris. Cahen did not remain long in Utah. Many years later his son married a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Fred Simon of Salt Lake City.

Isidore Morris arrived as a private in the army and was stationed at Camp Douglas, the military post on the "Bench" which overlooked Salt Lake City from the east. As soon as he was mustered out of service in 1864, he engaged in mercantile business in Salt Lake City. At one period, he kept a store in the mining town of Bingham, Utah.[2] Morris married a Mormon girl, Miss Goddard, who embraced Judaism. Their daughter, Mamie, married Harry S. Joseph, an engineer from Cincinnati who laid out the Bamberger railroad. Morris, a pious Orthodox Jew, won the gratitude of the Mormon people when he intervened in their behalf in 1886 at the time when forty-nine Mormon "Elders" were incarcerated in the Utah penitentiary charged with violation of the Federal law against polygamy. Among these prisoners was Bishop William R. Smith, who was a personal friend of Morris.

The historian Tullidge relates that:

> In 1887, a petition was circulated among influential citizens of Salt Lake and Davis Counties asking President Cleveland to grant a pardon to Bishop Smith. The petition was drawn up at the instance of the Bishop's Gentile rather than his Mormon friends. Mr. Isidore Morris, whose money was never stinted in a deserving cause, nor his friendship silent when a just plea on behalf of a fellow citizen had to be made, went to Washington with the petition and importuned the President and the statesmen who were most concerned with special Congressional legislation on Utah and polygamy, including Senator Edmunds. They were sensibly moved . . . President Cleveland favorably entertaining the petition . . . and a presidential pardon was signed for the

[1] Verbal statement of Mrs. C. W. Nibley to the author, 1923.

[2] Fred J. Kiesel Ms. PF-15, pp. 52–55, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.

Bishop. The latter was escorted from the penitentiary by his friend, Isidore Morris.[3]

The Mormon authorities never forgot the friendship of Morris and showed their appreciation of it later. When the schism between the Orthodox and the Reform Jews took place, Morris joined the Orthodox group and the officials, on two occasions, contributed money out of their Church funds to aid Morris in the establishment of Congregation Montefiore. In 1903, President Joseph F. Smith and John Henry Smith attended the services at the laying of its cornerstone and also delivered addresses.[4] Isidore Morris died in 1906 and is buried in the Jewish cemetery at Salt Lake.

Aaron Morris was born in Poland in 1854, and came to Utah in 1879. He was associated in business with Isidore at Bingham. In 1883, Aaron took charge of a store which they had opened at Hailey, Idaho. There, Aaron met a tragic death at the hands of a highwayman. Late one night, against the advice of his friends, he started out on horseback from Ketchum, twelve miles from Hailey, where he had gone on business. He had been warned that it was generally known that he would be carrying a considerable sum of money and that to attempt the lonely ride so late at night was fraught with danger. He was found the next day, on the trail, shot dead, with his faithful horse standing guard over his body. The murder caused great excitement in Salt Lake City, to which place the dead man was brought for burial.[5]

[3] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Utah, supra,* vol II, pp. 23, 293; A. Jenson, *Church Chronology, supra,* p. 170.

[4] Journal History, Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Aug. 13 and Oct. 14, 1903.

[5] Salt Lake City *Tribune,* Aug. 19, 1904.

The Siegel Brothers

The three Siegel brothers, Henry, Joseph and Solomon, were born in Redelheim, Bavaria, and came to America about 1841 with their grandfather. They settled in Baltimore. Henry, the eldest brother, established a store in Alexandria, Virginia. When the building of the Union Pacific Railroad was begun, he went to Omaha, Nebraska, and established a store in Nebraska City. He followed the road west, selling merchandise to the railroad construction gangs. For this purpose he outfitted two wagons which moved west as the railroad advanced westward. The venture was successful. Later, the three brothers established stores in the Black Hills, Dakota Territory, during the mining excitement, and also in Virginia City, Montana. Henry, Joseph and Solomon came to Salt Lake City about 1864, and established a clothing store to be followed soon by a second one.[1] To supply themselves with merchandise which was then in great demand, they undertook to freight it across the Plains. They were successful in getting a wagon-train to Utah in the summer of 1865. A local Salt Lake newspaper records that:

> The advance of Messrs. Siegel's train of clothing and furnishings arrived last evening. This is the first mercantile arriving from the east this season."[2]

That travel in the Far West was looked upon as fraught with danger is illustrated by the fact that as late as 1867 Henry Siegel was compelled to secure a special permit from the Equitable Life Assurance Society to prevent the invalidation of his insurance policy.[3] Henry Siegel was one of the incorporators of Congregation B'nai Israel on March 21, 1881, and was its first president.[4] He married Sarah Lazarus of Montgomery, Alabama. He died on January 22, 1904.

[1] Salt Lake *Telegraph,* July 12, 1864.
[2] *Ibid.,* July 1, 1865.
[3] See *supra,* chapter I, "Utah Remote and Isolated," p. 4.
[4] Minute Book CBI, March 31, 1881, p. 3.

Joseph Siegel was one of the four signers of the appeal circulated in the eastern states on January 22, 1866, for assistance in establishing a Jewish cemetery in Salt Lake City.[5]

[5] *The Occident,* vol. XXIII, no. 2 (March, 1866), pp. 558–559.

Louis and Alexander Cohn

The careers of the brothers, Louis and Alexander Cohn, follow closely that of many of the early Utah merchants who, after experiencing difficulties in the hectic competition in California, found success among the Mormons. Both were natives of Dobrzyn, Russian Poland, where Louis was born in 1842, and Alexander, in 1843. The elder brother, Louis, came to America at the age of seventeen and, after spending two years in New York, went to California and opened a store in Sierra County, where he remained for four years. In 1865, Louis started from Poker Flats, a California mining town made famous by Bret Harte, driving a team of horses to Salt Lake, where he arrived after a tedious journey of six weeks. Here he opened a store under the name of Cohn & Munter.[1] The younger brother, Alexander, came to America at the age of twenty-two, and joined Louis in California. Subsequently, he followed his brother to Salt Lake City, where, in 1867, they organized the firm of L. & A. Cohn. After the tragic death of Joseph D. Farmer,[2] the Cohns took over the former's store, which was first operated as "The California Store," and later as the Cohn Dry Goods Company. Their store became the training school for many of the young immigrants who later became successful merchants.

Louis Cohn was interested in the Kaysville Brick Company and in several mining ventures. He was a member of the Salt Lake City Council for two terms, and acted as police and fire commissioner under Mayor Robert N. Baskin. In 1876, he married Carrie Lippman. He was a thirty-second degree Mason. He died in 1918.

Alexander Cohn, a modest and retiring man, was very active in all Jewish affairs; he was elected President of the Congregation B'nai Israel in 1896. As warden of the cemetery, he gave it devoted attention. He married Jennie Lippman, a sister of his brother's wife, in 1880. Alexander Cohn died in Salt Lake City in 1902.[3]

[1] Salt Lake City *Tribune,* Nov. 10, 1902.

[2] See biography of J. D. Farmer, *infra,* pp. 156–157.

[3] Information given (1950) by Stella Cohn of Salt Lake City, a daughter of Alexander Cohn.



COHN BROTHERS STORE

The Watters Brothers

There were three Watters brothers, Abraham, Ichel and Leiser, but only the two elder brothers came to Utah. The youngest, Leiser, remained in California.[1] The eldest brother, Abraham, had traversed the southern states in the early 1840's and came to California in 1849 where the two younger brothers joined him shortly thereafter. Abraham and Ichel Watters had varied experiences in California, Mexico and South America before coming to Utah in 1866.

The family came originally from Pomerania, a province of Germany on the Baltic Sea. The grandparents were Michel and Hannah Wasser whose son, Wolf, was the father of Abraham by his first marriage. After the death of his first wife, Wolf married Sarah Gratz who became the mother of Ichel and Leiser. The name Wasser was anglicized to Watters about 1830 when the eldest son moved to England.

ABRAHAM WATTERS

Abraham Watters was born in Prussia on May 20, 1809. His father, who was the factor of a wealthy landed proprietor, took him to London on trips which he made to dispose of wool, hides and produce raised on the estate. Here he learned English as a youth and here he settled after the death of his father.[2] In England he is reputed to have married a Miss Symmons, a sister-in-law of Samuel Myer Isaacs who had come to England from Holland and later emigrated to America where he became the Rabbi of Congregation Shaaray Tefila in New York City.[3] Mrs. Watters died

[1] Leiser (or Lazarus) Watters came to America about 1850 and went to California via the Panama route, where he joined his two brothers. He became a citizen of the United States in the District Court in San Francisco on October 21, 1856, and died in that city in the late 'sixties.

[2] Much of the information concerning Abraham Watters was obtained from note-books, clippings and letters which were found among his effects after his death. Photostats of many of these are in the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio. The originals are in the possession of the writer.

[3] Several notes left by the late Augusta Watters (Mrs. Ichel Watters, his sister-in-law) mention contacts with Rabbi Isaacs but Stanley Isaacs, a grandson of the latter, could find no reference to them among the Isaacs papers.

in New York during the early 'thirties.[4] The earliest authenticated record of Abraham Watters in this country is an entry in the register of St. Andrew's Lodge (Masonic) at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1837.[5] He is known to have been in Griffin, Georgia, in 1842, where, on July 7th of that year, he was presented with a Masonic keystone of virgin gold.[6] The records of the Masonic Lodge show him to have been in the cities of Macon and Griffin, Georgia, in 1844 to 1845.[7] Nothing in the records available suggest the kind of business he was engaged in during this period but the fact that during all of his subsequent career he dealt in jewelry leads to the conclusion that such was the business he carried on during his stay in the southern states.

The adventuresome urge, which was later to carry Abraham Watters into many districts of the early West and to Mexico and South America, manifested itself during the ten years he spent in the southern states. From Georgia he proceeded by easy stages to the Mississippi River and thence north to St. Louis, Missouri, where, in 1847, he received his citizenship papers from the Court of Common Pleas.[8] In that same year he went to Independence, Missouri, which was at that time the outfitting place and "jumping-off point" for travellers across the Plains to the Far West. Here he showed his interest in organizations by joining the Independent Order of Odd Fellows—an interest that was to absorb much of his time in later years.[9] It was in the year 1847 that the Mormons began their historic trek to the valley of the Great Salt Lake where Abraham Watters was to meet them in later years. Whether he went further overland at that time is unknown. Indeed there is nothing among his papers to indicate what he did or where

[4] A search of the vital statistics of the Health Department of the City of New York failed to disclose the date of the death of Mrs. Abraham Watters.

[5] The entry was seen and verified by this writer in 1926.

[6] This keystone is in possession of William G. Watters, a nephew of Abraham Watters.

[7] Record verified by a letter from W. J. Penn, Secretary of the Grand Chapter Masons, Macon, Georgia, to the writer, April 18, 1939. At the suggestion of the writer, Mr. R. J. D'Arcy Hart, of London, with his brother, Walter Hart, are making a search of Jewish records to secure data on Abraham Watters and his wife during their sojourn in England.

[8] Document in possession of the writer.

[9] Note-book of Abraham Watters, in possession of the writer.

he went until he appeared in California early in 1849, at the height of the "gold-rush."

Among the passengers on the Bark "Strafford," which sailed from New York on February 4, 1849, via Cape Horn, appear the names of "S. Watters" and "J. P. Shannon."[10] Since "Joseph" Shannon and Abraham Watters were known to be friends and both were later, in 1849, among those who attended the first meetings of the Jews in San Francisco to form a Congregation, it seemed quite probable that they were the persons mentioned by Haskins as having been passengers on this Bark.[11] However, doubt is cast on this assumption by another list of the passengers on that ship which appeared in the New York *Herald* at the time of its sailing, where these two are otherwise described.[12] It is definitely established that Abraham Watters reached California some time previous to November 17, 1849, for on that date he attended what is stated to have been the first meeting of a Masonic Lodge which was held in San Francisco.[13] He was listed as coming from Polar Star Lodge No. 49, of St. Louis, Missouri, a lodge he had joined before leaving Missouri. His interest in Masonry was later to extend to Mexico, Cuba and Utah. In San Francisco, he engaged in the jewelry business but in the early directories his name, like many others, is frequently misspelled. Thus in the *San Francisco Directory* of 1850 it is listed as Abraham "Walter" in one place and as "Waters" in another, but both identify him as being with the firm of Newfield, Watters & Co.[14] When he moved to Sacramento in 1853, his name is correctly spelled in the directory of that city but it should not be confused with another of the same name who is variously listed as being a gardener and a miner.[15]

[10] Charles W. Haskins, *The Argonauts of California* (New York, 1890), p. 448.

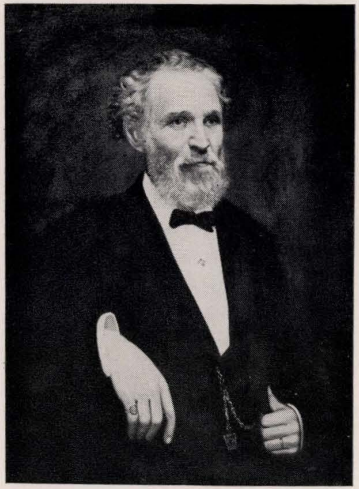
[11] Jacob Voorsanger, *The Chronicles of Emanu-El* (San Francisco, 1900), pp. 16, 25 and Appendices B and C.

[12] New York *Herald*, Feb. 4, 1849.

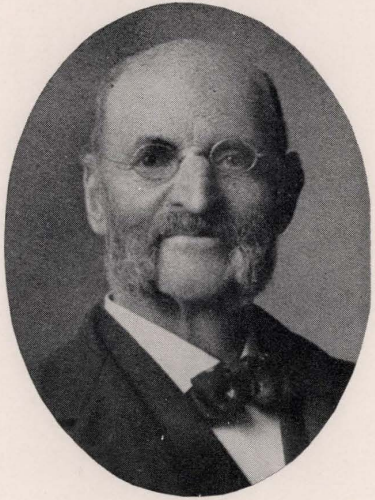
[13] Edwin A. Sherman, *Fifty Years of Masonry in California* (San Francisco, 1897), pp. 56, 83, 84.

[14] Charles P. Kimball, *San Francisco Directory*, Sept. 1850. The *San Francisco County Great Register* of 1872 gives vital statistics concerning Abraham Watters and records "registered proof of the loss of his citizenship papers in the great fire."

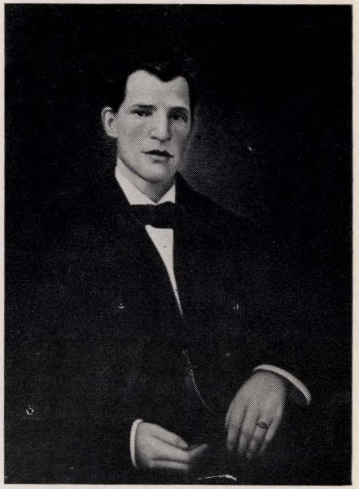
[15] *Sacramento City Directory* of the years 1853, 1854, 1855 and 1856.



ABRAHAM WATTERS



ICHEL WATTERS



LAZARUS WATTERS

Abraham Watters' interest in religious affairs manifested itself early after his arrival in California, and he was one of the precious few who attended "the first religious meeting of our people in this city [San Francisco] held Yom Kippur 5609 [*sic!*] (1849) in a tent room occupied by Mr. Louis Franklin . . . There were about ten persons present."[16] Beginning in March, 1851, a series of meetings were held, mostly in Mr. Watters' home, for the purpose of forming a Jewish congregation and, on the 16th of that month, a committee of which he was the chairman announced that it had collected $4,400 from 182 subscribers.[17] In April, the following notice appeared in a local newspaper:

> The Israelites of San Francisco will convene on Sunday evening the 6th inst. at seven o'clock at Mr. Mann's house for the purpose of forming a congregation and to elect officers for the ensuing year.
>
> A. WATTERS, Chairman.[18]

At the organization meeting of Congregation Emanu-El, Abraham Cohen Labatt was elected President and Abraham Watters Vice-President.

Differences of opinion as to the ritual to be used caused the withdrawal of factions from Congregation Emanu-El and, later from the Sherith Israel Congregation. In 1871, Watters became President of the Orthodox Shaarai Tzedeck Congregation. At that time the San Francisco *Hebrew* stated:

> The Synagogue located on Stockton St., between Broadway and Vallejo, was the first place of worship erected in this city or, in fact, on the Pacific Coast . . . Thanks to the untiring efforts of the very worthy President, Mr. Abraham Watters, peace and harmony were once more restored, while his liberality

[16] J. Voorsanger, *Chronicles of Emanu-El, supra,* p. 16. Voorsanger corrects the Hebrew date to read 5610.

[17] The original minutes of these meetings were for years considered lost. They were discovered by the writer, beautifully written on excellent paper, among the effects of his uncle, Abraham Watters. These have been framed under glass and are to be found in the lobby of Temple Emanu-El in San Francisco, to which they were presented. Photostats of them are deposited in the American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

[18] San Francisco *Alta California,* April 15, 1851, p. 3.

enabled the board of trustees to purchase the ground and buildings.[19]

In addition to his interest in congregational affairs, from the very beginning of organized Jewish life in California, he was also active in philanthropic endeavors. He became one of the founders of the Hebrew Benevolent Society. When the disastrous fire occurred in Grass Valley in 1855, a San Francisco paper observed:

> BENEVOLENCE
>
> At a meeting of the Hebrew Benevolent Society a committee of three consisting of A. Andrews, Abraham Watters and A. Ahronson, was appointed to solicit subscriptions for the relief of the Israelites suffered by the recent conflagration at Grass Valley. The committee collected yesterday a handsome sum. The example might be followed by members of other institutions who call themselves charitable.[20]

Two years earlier, in 1853, Mr. Watters had entered into a temporary partnership with Moses H. Lichtenstein to engage in the jewelry business in Mexico. This venture led them into serious difficulties with the Mexican authorities which resulted in a long drawn out litigation with the United States Commission on Claims against the Mexican government.[21] With a considerable stock of silverware and jewelry, the two took passage on the British brig "Arrow" at San Francisco and arrived at Guaymas, Sonora, Mexico on June 6, 1853. From Guaymas they proceeded inland to the town of Alamos and other settlements. After several months' trial they concluded that the prospects were not promising and they returned to Guaymas on October 8th, intending to secure passage back to San Francisco. They deposited their merchandise

[19] In private collection of clippings with no date appended. We have been unable to locate a complete file to determine date of quotation.

[20] San Francisco *Alta California,* Sept. 22, 1855. This benevolent society was founded in 1850. See Jacques J. Lyons and Abraham de Sola, *A Jewish Calendar for Fifty Years* (Montreal, 1854), p. 171.

[21] Some 130 documents covering these claims in detail are to be found in the National Archives, General Services Administration, Washington, D. C. (Claim No. 84). An account of the incident appeared at some length in the San Francisco *Placer Times and Transcript* [newspaper], Jan. 4, 1854.

and baggage with the American Consul, Juan A. Robinson. Learning that an American brig, the "General Patterson," was in port, they applied for passage. This ship, being a transport, was not permitted ordinarily to take passengers, but the Captain suggested a way of taking them on as "assistant hands" and his offer was accepted. At a later date, when their claim was being considered at Washington, the Captain, Samuel W. Naghel, made an affidavit to the effect that both men had signed the ship's articles as part of the crew. To understand what now transpired, it should be recalled that, after the Mexican War and the ceding of Mexican territory to the United States, the relations of Mexico with our own government were far from cordial. There was a suspicion that further attempts to wrest additional territory from Mexico by filibusters might be attempted. In truth such an expedition led by the adventurer, William Walker, was being fitted out in San Francisco at that very time to attempt to take over that part of Mexico where Watters and Lichtenstein were then located. Whether Watters knew about it then, is unknown, but later on it developed that Lichtenstein had had some contacts with the filibuster Walker, and had been a member of his expedition to Nicaragua.[22]

The passports of both men had been confiscated by the Mexican authorities who refused to surrender them and permit their departure on the "Patterson." They were also refused permission to take the merchandise and baggage which were now on the dock. The captain of the ship then offered to purchase the merchandise and take it aboard, but this, too, was refused. In their affidavit to the State Department, Watters and Lichtenstein set forth:

> Sr. Ant. S. Bustamente [President of the Tribunal] then told us that we were prisoners and forbade us to leave the room . . . The Prefect ordered us to leave town within twenty-four hours for Alamos, an inland town some eighty to ninety leagues from here; to be the following day, the 17th inst., at six o'clock P.M., at Rancho San Jose, three leagues from there, and to pass through the following places[23]. . . This route is the farthest as well as the most dangerous, on account of the Apache Indians, who

[22] Wallace M. Morgan, *History of Kern County, California* (Los Angeles, 1914), p. 1081. See also Frank Soule, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1850), pp. 474–481.

[23] A list of the places is here given.

committed there only lately the most atrocious depredations, killing a large number of persons. In answer to our question, why we should be so dealt with, the Prefect unreasonably accused us of knowing the particulars of an expedition fitted out in San Francisco to invade Sonora, when we arrived here on board the "Arrow," the 30th of June, this year, and did not inform the authorities of it. This accusation is entirely unfounded and false and the Prefect could not and cannot now give the least proof that his assertions are correct and we do most solemnly complain of the arbitrary manner in which he abused the power invested in him, toward us. After the orders of the Prefect were communicated to us, we applied to Mr. Robinson [the American Consul] for protection as American citizens, which he was unable to give us as we had not obtained a copy of the passports we had brought with us from San Francisco in which we were stated to be such. We then addressed ourselves to Mr. Provost, Captain of H.R.M.'s war steamer "Virago," which lay in the Port and we were kindly permitted to go on board his vessel to Mazatlan, provided we could get passports to that effect, which the Prefect at last consented to.[24]

The "Virago" finally landed them at San Francisco and they published a letter of thanks to Captain Provost in the local newspaper.[25] They engaged ex-Governor Bigler of California to push their claims for redress against the Mexican Government and he was later assisted by his brother, ex-Governor John Bigler of Pennsylvania, who was then in Washington. Nine citizens of San Francisco sent a petition to their representatives in Congress soliciting their assistance in pressing the claim of Watters.[26] Watters himself made a trip to Honolulu, Hawaii, in 1857, to secure an affidavit from Frederick W. Sutton, chief engineer of the "Virago." The hearings dragged on for years and the claims were finally disallowed on a technicality.

In 1854, Abraham Watters, with his brother Ichel, purchased "Sutter Hall" in Sacramento and fitted it out as a recreation center for the residents of that city.[27]

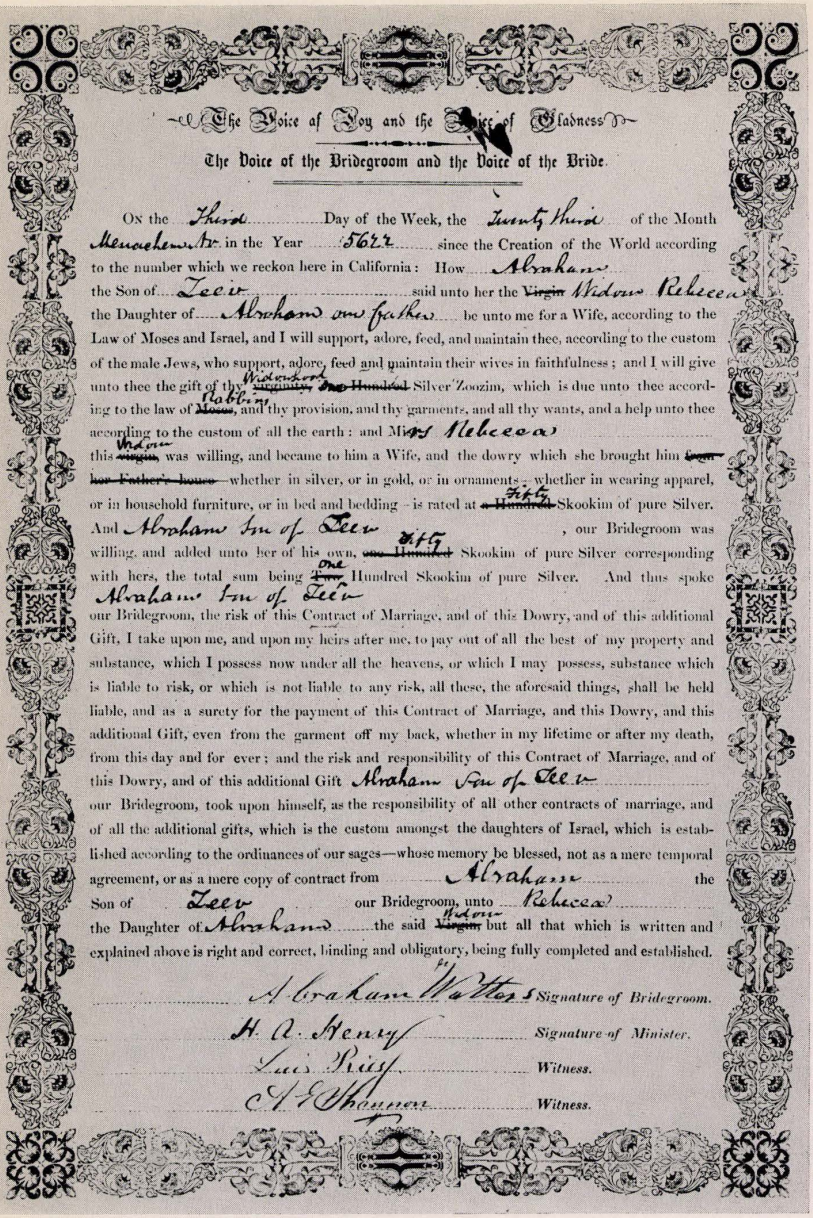
[24] Memorial of Abraham Watters to the Joint Commission of the United States of America and the Republic of Mexico, Record Group No. 76, Boundary and Claims Division, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[25] San Francisco *Placer Times and Transcript, supra,* Jan. 4, 1854.

[26] Document in the author's possession.

[27] Sacramento *Union,* Nov. 18, 1854, p. 3.

Facsimile of Ketubah



The Voice of Joy and the Voice of Gladness

The Voice of the Bridegroom and the Voice of the Bride.

On the Third Day of the Week, the Twenty Third of the Month Menachem Av in the Year 5622 since the Creation of the World according to the number which we reckon here in California: How Abraham the Son of Teev said unto her the ~~Virgin~~ Widow Rebecca the Daughter of Abraham our father be unto me for a Wife, according to the Law of Moses and Israel, and I will support, adore, feed, and maintain thee, according to the custom of the male Jews, who support, adore, feed and maintain their wives in faithfulness; and I will give unto thee the gift of thy ~~Widowhood~~ ~~Virginity, Two Hundred~~ Silver Zoozim, which is due unto thee according to the law of ~~Moses~~ Rabbi, and thy provision, and thy garments, and all thy wants, and a help unto thee according to the custom of all the earth: and Miss Rebecca this ~~virgin~~ Widow was willing, and became to him a Wife, and the dowry which she brought him ~~from her Father's house~~ whether in silver, or in gold, or in ornaments, whether in wearing apparel, or in household furniture, or in bed and bedding, is rated at ~~a Hundred~~ Fifty Skookim of pure Silver. And Abraham Son of Teev , our Bridegroom was willing, and added unto her of his own, ~~one Hundred~~ fifty Skookim of pure Silver corresponding with hers, the total sum being ~~Two~~ One Hundred Skookim of pure Silver. And thus spoke Abraham Son of Teev our Bridegroom, the risk of this Contract of Marriage, and of this Dowry, and of this additional Gift, I take upon me, and upon my heirs after me, to pay out of all the best of my property and substance, which I possess now under all the heavens, or which I may possess, substance which is liable to risk, or which is not liable to any risk, all these, the aforesaid things, shall be held liable, and as a surety for the payment of this Contract of Marriage, and this Dowry, and this additional Gift, even from the garment off my back, whether in my lifetime or after my death, from this day and for ever; and the risk and responsibility of this Contract of Marriage, and of this Dowry, and of this additional Gift Abraham Son of Teev our Bridegroom, took upon himself, as the responsibility of all other contracts of marriage, and of all the additional gifts, which is the custom amongst the daughters of Israel, which is established according to the ordinances of our sages—whose memory be blessed, not as a mere temporal agreement, or as a mere copy of contract from Abraham the Son of Teev our Bridegroom, unto Rebecca the Daughter of Abraham the said ~~Virgin~~ Widow but all that which is written and explained above is right and correct, binding and obligatory, being fully completed and established.

Abraham W. Watters Signature of Bridegroom.

H. A. Henry Signature of Minister.

Lucius Price Witness.

A. E. Shannon Witness.

TRANSLATION OF KETUBAH OF ABRAHAM WATTERS AND REBECCA STEEG, 1862



סימן טוב ומזל טוב

קול ששון וקול שמחה קול התן וקול כלה:

בשלישי בשבת שלשה ועשרים יום לחדש
מנחם אב שנת חמשת אלפים ושש מאות ועשרים ושתים
לבריאת עולם למנין שאנו מנין כאן סענפראנסיסקא קעליפארניא איר ההתן
אברהם בן לבי זאב
אמר לה להדא אלמלתא רבקה בת אברהם אבינן
הוו לי לאנתו כדת משה וישראל ואנא אפלח ואוקיר ואיזון ואפרנס יתיכי כהלכות
גוברין יהודאין דפלחין ומוקרין וזנין ומפרנסין לנשיהון בקושטא ויהיבנא ליכי כסף
אלמלותיכי זוזי מאה דחזי ליכי מדמנך. ומזוניכי וכסותיכי וסיפוקיכי ומיעל לותיכי
באורח כל ארעא וצניאת מרת רבקה בת אברהם אבינן
אלמלתא דא והות ליה לאנתו ודין נדוניא דהנעלת ליה
בין בכסף בין בזהב בין בתכשיטין במאני דלבושא בשימושי דירה ובשימושא דערסא
חמשין זקוקים כסף צרוף:
וצבירי אברהם בן לבי זאב חתן דנן והוסיף
לה מן דיליה חמשין זקוקים כסף צרוף אחרים כנגדן סך הכל מאה זקוקים כסף צרוף
וכך אמר ר׳ אברהם בן לבי זאב
חתן דנן אחריות שטר כתובתא דא נדוניא דן ותוספתא דא קבלית עלי ועל ירתי בהראי
להתפרע מכל שפר ארג נכסין וקנינין דאית לי תחות כל שמיא דקנאי ודעתיד אנא למקנא
נכסין דאית להון אחריות ורירת להון אחריות כלהון יהון אהראין וערבאין לפרוע מנהון
שטר כתובתא דא נדוניא דן ותוספתא דא ואפילו מן גלימא דעל כתפאי בחיי
ובמותי מן יומא דנן ולעלם ואחריות וחומר שטר כתובתא דא נדוניא דן ותוספתא דא
קבל עליו אברהם בן לבי זאב
חתן דנן כחומר כל שטרי כתובות ותוספתת דנהגין בבנת ישראל העשויין בתיקון הכזיל
דלא כאסמכתא ודלא כטופסי דשטרי וקנינא מן ר׳ אברהם בן לבי זאב
חתן דנן לכרת רבקה בת אברהם אבינן
אלמלתא דא ככל מה דכתב ומפורש לעיל במנא דכשר למקניא ביה הכל שריר וקים

החתן Abraham Watters

ספרי הקדושין

ער Louis Weiss

ער O. L. Shannon

KETUBAH [MARRIAGE CONTRACT] OF ABRAHAM WATTERS AND REBECCA STEEG, 1862



HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS.

SUTTER HALL!—PIONEERS, ATTENTION!

The undersigned would most respectfully announce to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Sacramento and vicinity, and the public at large, that they have purchased the building and its appurtenances, located at the corner of J and 29th streets, known as

SUTTER HALL!

And have fitted up and furnished it in the most elegant style, where they are prepared to receive and entertain Ladies and Gentlemen who may favor them with a visit.

They are also prepared to give COTILLION PARTIES on the shortest notice.

Our Bar is supplied with the best of Wines, Liquors, Cordials, &c., that can be obtained in California, and you will find OLD JOE HARRIS at all times ready and willing to wait on his friends.

☞ STRAWBERRIES AND CREAM from Kuhlau & Co.'s Gardens, opposite, served up at all hours.

☞ The OMNIBUS during week days will convey passengers to and from our house at 2 and 5 o'clock P. M., and on Sundays will make regular trips every hour and a half from 1 to 9 o'clock P. M.

Music every Sunday.

A. WATTERS, I. WATTERS.
n16 A. WATTERS & CO.

ADVERTISEMENT OF A. WATTERS & CO.

(From the *Sacramento Union*, Nov. 18, 1854)

During the next few years he and his brother engaged in various enterprises in Sacramento and both made several trips to Mexico, and, in 1861, a trip to Cuba. In 1862, Abraham Watters married Rebecca Steeg in San Francisco. Their marriage contract, reminiscent of an earlier period, is here reproduced. Sometime previous to 1864, he established a business in Caracas, Venezuela, under the name of A. Watters y Binnard and, to secure a stock of jewelry for this establishment he took passage on a ship from Caracas to St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, and from there to England, Germany and France. In 1866, he went to Salt Lake City, Utah, with his brother Ichel, where they established another jewelry business. Abraham divided his time between Salt Lake City and San Francisco until 1878, when he and his wife went to England and settled in Birmingham. Here, he established the first English Lodge of the Kesher Shel Barzel Order. He had previously been President of the California branch of this Order. He returned alone to the home of his brother in Salt Lake City in 1888 and lived with him until his death on March 6, 1893.

ICHEL WATTERS

The second brother, Ichel Watters, was born in Rogasen, Prussia, on February 1, 1827, and came to America in 1850. He remained in New York for a few months and then went on to California via the Panama Canal route where he joined his brother Abraham in business. With him he managed "Sutter Hall" in Sacramento and then engaged in the jewelry business in Portland, Oregon, for about two years when he returned to San Francisco. Mr. Watters and his brother were passengers on the British ship "Trent" en route from Havana, Cuba to St. Thomas, D.W.I., when, on November 8, 1861, James Murray Mason and John Slidell, the Confederate States commissioners to Great Britain and France, were captured by Captain Charles Wilkes of the United States ship-of-war "San Jacinto." The son of Captain Wilkes, Major Edmund Wilkes, lived later in Salt Lake City. The incident was described in detail in the *Deseret News* of Salt Lake City on September 4, 1918.

With his brother he made several trips to Mexico and, in 1864, he was in business at Virginia City, Nevada. In 1866, he went on to Salt Lake City and engaged in the jewelry business, first in partnership with Abraham Watters and then alone. Here he resided during the remainder of his life. For a number of years the business was unusually successful. With the aid of the few artisans then available he undertook the manufacture of jewelry, something which had not hitherto been attempted in Utah. Several of those whom he trained later became successful jewelers and watchmakers. In reference to this, a local newspaper commented:

> Watters Bros., of this city, have received machinery from the East and competent workmen have been engaged. We believe that they have the honor of manufacturing the first gold chain ever made in Utah. This chain weighs five ounces and six pennyweights and consists of two thousand links . . . It is really a beautiful and unique piece of workmanship.[28]

With the rise of the mining industry money became more plentiful and the sale of jewelry, hitherto considered a luxury, increased.

[28] Salt Lake *Tribune,* April 15 and May 27, 1871.



ADVERTISEMENT OF WATTERS BROTHERS, 1866

(From the *Vedette* [Ft. Douglas, Utah], December 8, 1866)

In 1870, Mr. Watters opened a branch house in Ogden, Utah.[29] Like most other merchants he indulged in what was known as "grub-staking," a practice which consisted in furnishing prospectors with supplies and equipment for exploring favorable sites for sinking mines. The "grub-staker" was guaranteed a share in whatever valuable discoveries were made, but few of the many ventures were successful.

During the period between 1866 and 1872, when the bitterness between the Mormons and the Gentiles was at its height, Mr. Watters was the victim of two brutal attacks, one of which almost cost him the loss of an arm. Hatred between the two factions had reached such a point that individual Mormons took upon themselves the task of wreaking their vengeance upon the heads of their opponents. The Mormon historian, Whitney, describes the situation thus:

> At Salt Lake City, during the year 1866, occurred what are known as the Brassfield and Robinson murders. Both crimes were committed by unknown persons, and both victims were prominent Gentiles. Owing to these facts and other circumstances surrounding the cases, it was believed by the Gentile portion of the community that the deeds were done by Mormons. . . . This (was) the third case of shooting with intent to kill in less than three weeks.[30]

The perpetrators of these murders were never apprehended although large rewards were offered for their arrests. These outrages were followed by others of a less violent nature and "the whole community was terribly excited."[31] In the fall of 1869, Mr. Watters attended a meeting at St. Mark's chapel and took exception to the attempts of some embittered Mormons to interrupt the speaker. Several weeks later, on October 22, 1869, he suffered the consequences:

> Two citizens, Watters, of Watters Bros., jewelers, and Popper, soap manufacturer, among hundreds of others, went out to witness a "sham fight." They rode into camp, no guard interrupted them, dismounted, tied up their horses . . . and went out to walk

[29] Salt Lake *Mormon Tribune*, Jan. 1, 1870.
[30] O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra*, vol. II, pp. 142–147.
[31] T. B. H. Stenhouse, *The Rocky Mountain Saints, supra*, p. 617.

through the camp, when—one of the "Twelve Apostles" of the church, followed by—,[32] . . . and an innumerable mob attacked Mr. Watters, kicking, cuffing and swearing, "kill him." Mr. Watters was unarmed and did his best to escape with his life; though sore and bruised, he outran them and escaped their murderous fangs.[33]

The second attack occurred on the main street of the city a year later and was perpetrated by two Mormon policemen. These policemen were, as were all others, in civilian clothes and always patrolled in pairs, never alone, and they too had become imbued with the desire to exercise their power on supposed infractions against the predominant church. Thus it came about that Mr. Watters was beaten up with brass knuckles.[34] It is only fair to say that in later years, when hatred had subsided, Mr. Watters enjoyed and reciprocated the kindness and good-will of the Mormon people.

Like most of his compeers who had come West as young bachelors, Ichel Watters looked forward to the time when he might consider marriage. As a youth in Germany, he had known and admired Augusta Graupe, the daughter of a fellow townsman, and he had corresponded with her ever since his coming to America. Early in 1869, he made the long and tedious trip to Europe to induce her to become his wife, but the parents refused to give their consent. They pictured the Far West as a wilderness infested with Indians and his trip was in vain. But when Augusta Graupe learned in letters from him of his having been injured, she determined to go to his aid. Accordingly, in the company of an American friend of Mr. Watters from America who then was on a visit to Germany, she sailed for New York and proceeded west. She was met by Mr. Watters at Green River, Wyoming, and the couple were married at the home of Charles Popper in Salt Lake City on July 5, 1871. She nursed him through his illness and suffered with him the severe decline of his business which had occurred during his long incapacitation. A woman of inexhaustible energy and kindness, she soon gained the good-will and friendship of the Jews and Mormons alike and endured the rigors of life in a pioneer

[32] Names deleted by this author.
[33] Salt Lake *Reporter*, Oct. 22, 1869. See *supra*, p. 35.
[34] *Ibid.*, July 28, 1870; Salt Lake *Tribune*, July 26, 1870.

community uncomplainingly. For many years she was the president of the Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society.

Mr. Watters was an early member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows and a Past Grand Master and later Treasurer of Utah Lodge No. 1 for some twenty years. He was a charter member of Congregation B'nai Israel and its lay reader during the time when the Congregation had no rabbi. He died at Michael Reese Hospital on October 10, 1907, having been taken ill while en route to New York to live with his sons. His wife, Augusta Graupe Watters, died in New York City on June 28, 1928. Both are buried in the B'nai Israel Cemetery in Salt Lake City. Of their seven children only two, William Graupe Watters and Leon Laizer Watters [the author] survive (1952). Their other children were Martha (Mrs. William Graupe), Isadore Max, Seward, Herbert and Florence.

At the re-dedication of the Jewish synagogue in Salt Lake City on April 19, 1929, after it was overhauled and re-decorated, a bronze tablet was installed reading:

IN MEMORIAM

ICHEL AND AUGUSTA WATTERS, PIONEERS OF THE STATE OF UTAH,
CHARTER MEMBERS OF CONGREGATION B'NAI ISRAEL,
BUILDERS AND LEADERS OF JUDAISM IN THIS COMMUNITY.

Gumpert Goldberg

Gumpert Goldberg was born in Germany in 1832, and came to New York as a boy of thirteen, where he remained for some years before going west to Colorado. From here he is known to have gone to a mining camp in Montana named "Last Chance Gulch" and then to have returned to Denver where he married Helena Morris in 1863, with whom he returned to Montana. An apocryphal story was current in the early days that the city of Helena, Montana, was named in honor of Mrs. Goldberg, her name having been adopted after the miners failed to agree on the many other suggestions for naming Last Chance Gulch after their numerous home towns.[1] The story that Theresa, a daughter of the Goldbergs, was reputed to be the first white child born in Montana also lacks confirmation. The site of the early mining camp is now the main street of Helena and previous to 1868 it was said that over $16,000,000 worth of gold had been taken from the gravel beds there. Goldberg moved with his family to Utah and was in business in Ogden and in the "Gentile City" of Corinne with Fred J. Kiesel.[2] One of Goldberg's daughters, "Gussie" (Augusta) was born in Corinne. She later married Louis Simon. Goldberg's eldest daughter, Theresa, married Louis Simon's brother, Fred. A third daughter married Edward Silberstein. Mr. Goldberg was long in the grocery business. He died in Germany in 1881 but is buried in the cemetery at Salt Lake City.

[1] Some of the above information was given to the writer by Mrs. Fred Simon, a daughter of Gumpert Goldberg, in San Francisco, in 1923. Information regarding the naming of Helena was collected by Mr. Norman Winestine of Helena, Montana, in 1950. He reports that the various stories told in existing records are conflicting and unsubstantiated. See, for example, Michael A. Leeson, *History of Montana* (Chicago, 1885), pp. 694n., 701, concerning the story of how John Somerville proposed the name of Helena.

[2] In Ms. PF-15, pp. 52–55, at the Bancroft Library, some information regarding Goldberg is to be found in the recital of F. J. Kiesel.

Joseph D. Farmer

Joseph D. Farmer was one of the pioneer merchants of the early 1860's whose name appears in the early photographs of the stores on East Temple Street of that period. Farmer was active in both Idaho and Utah. In addition to his store at Salt Lake City, he operated a branch in Corinne, in 1874.[1] Before his tragic death by drowning in 1882, he experienced a near-tragedy in 1864, which is recorded by Alexander Toponce as follows:

> The night we got back to Call's Fort, a man named J. D. Farmer came in on foot over the trail from Boise City. He had left his party behind and was the only one to arrive at the settlement without help. He had started out from Boise and had got snowed up and lost their animals and then started on foot from near the present town of Snowville about the same time we were caught at Malad. The next morning we started out with sleds and provisions over the Boise trail. We found two of Farmer's party on the head of Blue Creek. Then we went on the Rattlesnake Pass and there we found the remaining two of his men frozen to death, so we took all of his party back to the Fort. We then took sleighs from Call's Fort to Salt Lake City, where we arrived about the 20th of January, 1864, going by way of Ogden.[2]

Farmer's narrow escape from death on this occasion foreshadowed the tragedy which ended his career. On August 6, 1882, while bathing at the then popular resort of "Black Rock" on the south shore of the Great Salt Lake, he was drowned. No one saw the accident, and the body disappeared. It was not discovered until October 11, 1886, four years later, at a point eight miles west of Garfield, in Tooele County. The body was in a semi-petrified condition as a result of immersion in the strong saline water.

Contemporary accounts of the tragedy occupied much space in the local newspapers, since drowning in the buoyant waters of Salt Lake had been considered to be almost impossible. The report in the Salt Lake City *Deseret News* of August 7, 1882, reads:

[1] E. L. Sloan, *Gazetteer of Utah* (1874), *supra*, p. 59.
[2] Alexander Toponce, *Reminiscences* (Salt Lake City, 1923), p. 78.

DROWNED IN THE LAKE. MR. J. D. FARMER IS DROWNED WHILE BATHING AT BLACK ROCK.

Yesterday afternoon Mr. J. D. Farmer, accompanied by his wife, went to Black Rock on the "bathing train," to enjoy a bath in the waters of the lake. All appeared to be going well with the party until the time of departure for home arrived, when it was discovered that Mr. Farmer was missing. A search for him was immediately instituted, but no trace of the gentleman could be found. The train was delayed ten minutes to admit parties scattering out in every direction to renew the search, but again these proved futile. The suspicion that the missing man was drowned forced itself upon the minds of his friends, and the news of his disappearance created a good deal of excitement. Late last night a special train with a party of Mr. Farmer's friends went out from the City to Black Rock and renewed the search, which resulted in the discovery of the unfortunate gentleman's clothing in one of the bathrooms. This appears to place the matter of his fate beyond doubt. It appears that Mr. Farmer was not much at home in the water, being unable to swim and that a gentleman who was bathing yesterday, at his request assisted him twice to regain his feet when he was floating on his back. It is probable that in subsequent effort to right himself unaided, his head got under water, and strangulation ensued, or that he was suddenly submerged by a "wind cap." This morning a party went out to Black Rock with the intention of passing over the lake in a boat in the hope of finding the body. Mr. Farmer was the proprietor of the "One Price Store," 55 East Temple Street, having resided in the city about two years. Previously he carried on a mercantile business in the town of Corinne. He was about fifty years of age. He leaves a wife and five children. The latest information up to 3:30 was to the effect that the body had not been recovered.[3]

Mr. Farmer had always interested himself in communal affairs and, from 1881 till the time of his death, he had been Vice-President of Congregation B'nai Israel.[4]

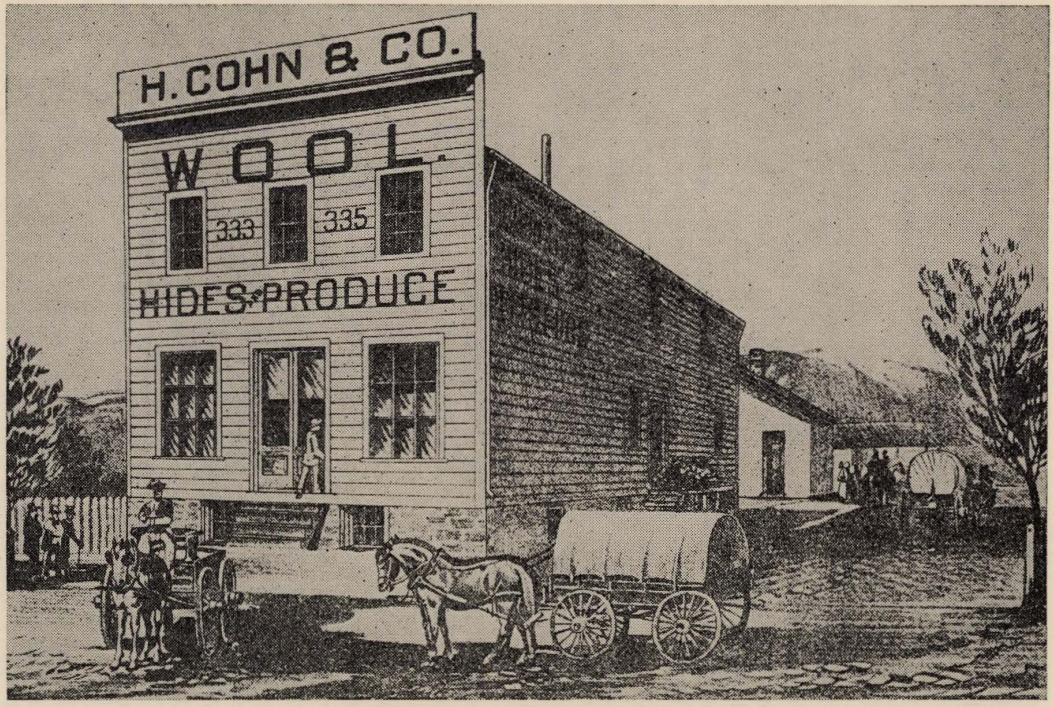
[3] See also, Salt Lake *Daily Herald,* Aug. 11, 1882.

[4] Minute Book CBI, Aug. 10, 1881, p. 16; Salt Lake *Tribune,* Aug. 9, 1882.

Henry Cohn

Henry Cohn was born in Schwetz, Prussia, December 24, 1845, and came to America about 1860. He peddled notions in the vicinity of New York and came to Utah as a young man. Here he first engaged in the business of buying and selling produce, and raw furs and pelts brought in by trappers and farmers. Later, in partnership with his brother-in-law, Isaac Solomon, he became a buyer of wool throughout the intermountain region which was sold to the wool merchants in Boston. His yards on State Street were a landmark for many years. Cohn married Mathilda Solomon in 1885. He died in Salt Lake City on May 26, 1922.[1]

[1] The above information was supplied in 1950 by his daughter, Mrs. Ezra Baer, now living in Berkeley, Cal.



H. COHN & CO.'S WAREHOUSE

The Kuhn Brothers

Abraham Kuhn (b. 1838) and his brother, Adam (b. Oct. 23, 1844), were natives of Weisenheim, on the Berg Rheinpfalz, Germany. Their father had been in Mobile, Alabama, for three years prior to the birth of his sons, but had subsequently returned to Germany.

The elder brother, Abraham, came to America in 1852. He lived for a short time in Vincennes, Indiana, where he commenced business as a vendor of merchandise on a small scale. In 1853, moving westward, he opened a small store at Council Bluffs, Iowa. In 1860, he migrated to Denver, Colorado, where he opened another store and prospered for three years before the Montana gold rush drew him farther west. He next opened a business in Salt Lake City in the spring of 1864, where he remained for two years. He then traded in Montana for another two years, sold out again, and went on an extended visit to Europe. He returned to America in the fall of 1869, and joined his brother, Adam, in business in Ogden, Utah.

Adam Kuhn came to America in the spring of 1854. He first worked in the wholesale clothing and dry-goods business of a kinsman in Des Moines, Iowa. In 1862, he moved to Colorado and until 1868 was engaged in running mule freight trains from Denver to Montana and Utah. At the same time he carried on a business of his own, through his assistants in Virginia City, Montana, and at Bannock in the same Territory. On the return of his brother from Europe, he sold out his various business ventures and, in partnership with Abraham, opened business at Corinne in the fall of 1869, maintaining branches in Ogden, Utah, and in Evanston, Wyoming. The brothers moved to Ogden in 1880, and, perceiving that this town was destined to become the commercial center of Utah, moved their wholesale dry-goods and clothing business as well as their main office there. The firm prospered rapidly. In 1886, the brothers purchased a large block of real estate and thereon erected one of the finest business blocks in Ogden, Utah. It was known as the "Kuhn Block." Abraham Kuhn married the daughter of Abraham Rosenbaum, by whom he had six children.[1]

[1] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City, supra,* vol. II, pp. 263–265; Charles W. Hemenway, *Memoirs of My Days* (Salt Lake City, 1887), p. 222.

Moses Hirschman

Moses Hirschman was born in Wurtemburg, Germany, in 1832, and came to America in 1856. He lived for some time in Wheeling, West Virginia, and set out for California, via the Panama route, in 1860. Here he engaged in various kinds of business and then went to Virginia City, Nevada, where he became interested in mining. He showed the same restlessness that was common to his contemporaries and was attracted to Helena, Montana, where a mining boom was raging in 1869; and then, in 1871, he travelled to Salt Lake City, where he remained until his death in 1909. Here he became interested in the Flagstaff, the South Star and other silver mines in the Alta district and the Brooklyn lead mine in Bingham. On the grounds of his home on West Third South Street there were always several "mine mules" which were ridden by his children and those of the neighborhood. When Corinne was in its prime, Hirschman operated teams hauling merchandise delivered by the newly completed Union Pacific Railroad, to points in Montana, bringing back ores and lumber. At a later date, he established what was then the finest shoe store in Salt Lake City. His children were Beatrice, Jerome and Herbert. None of them are living.[1]

[1] The above information was furnished the writer many years ago by the late Herbert Hirschman, a son.

Moses Caspar Phillips

Moses Caspar Phillips was born in Verbalin, Poland, on December 10, 1828, and came to the United States in 1840. He passed his youth and early manhood in New York. In 1855, he went to California and conducted a store at Scotts Bar, Sonoma County, selling general merchandise. Late in 1858, he crossed the Plains and went on to New York, where he was married to Eva Hannah Green, who was born in Germany, in 1840. With his bride, he boarded a sailing vessel to Panama, crossed overland to the Pacific and up to San Francisco via steamer. Returning to Scotts Bar, he continued to operate his store and during his stay there three children were born to them, Leah, Harris and Frances. In 1862, the family moved to Oakland, where Phillips kept a shoe store for several years, and then to San Francisco. In 1865, they went to Gold Hill, Nevada, a mining town near Virginia City. With the decline of the mining boom, they went first to Bloomfield, California, and then, in 1872, to Salt Lake City, Utah, where the family settled. Phillips secured employment with Hogle Brothers who were the leading liquor dealers of the city and he operated their cigar department until his death on October 15, 1913.

Mr. Phillips was active in religious affairs and served four terms as President of Congregation B'nai Israel; in 1882, 1883, 1887, and 1888. Before the coming of a rabbi, he, with Ichel Watters, conducted the services according to the Orthodox Jewish ritual. When the Reform ritual was adopted, he withdrew from the Congregation. He was a member of Argenta Lodge No. 3 and was its Secretary for thirty-three years. The family home at 351 East Second South Street, which he built in 1881, is still (1951) occupied by the only remaining descendant, Matilda Phillips, a daughter. His wife, a woman of great beauty and charm, was active in religious and communal affairs. She was a charter member of one of the pioneer benevolent organizations, the Orphans Home and Day Nursery. Mrs. Phillips died in 1929 at the age of 89, and with her husband is buried in the Jewish cemetery.[1]

[1] Most of the information for this biography was secured by Judge Herbert M. Schiller from Miss Matilda Phillips in Salt Lake City in 1951.

The Bamberger Brothers

The story of the four Bamberger brothers, which follows, was dictated to this writer by the second oldest brother, Simon, in 1924, just two years before his death. Here, in simple, unaffected and almost naive language, he described the career which culminated in his becoming Governor of the State of Utah.

I was born in Eberstadt, Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, on February 27, 1846.[1] My father was Emanuel Bamberger and my mother Helen Fleish; the family had lived there for several generations. There were two daughters by his first wife and five more children by his second wife, my mother. The eldest was Herman; then came myself, then Jacob; then Setta, who became the wife of Professor Louis Rothenberg; then Louis, the youngest.

I left home at the age of fourteen in company of a cousin who had been earlier in America. Landing at "Castle Garden" [the immigrant station at the Battery in New York City] I remained in New York for a few days. Then I set out for Cincinnati, Ohio, where I had two half-sisters. There were no through trains in those days and one had to know where to get off to change. I failed to change trains at Columbus, having fallen asleep, and so was carried to Indianapolis instead of Cincinnati. Fortunately I had a cousin at the former city, so I stopped off there and worked in his store for a few months and then joined my older brother, Herman, in his store at Wilmington, Ohio. I tended store while my brother Herman was a soldier, his duty being to guard bridges.

After the [Civil] War Herman and I went to St. Louis, where we manufactured clothing. We sold considerable goods to a trader who was a contractor following the Union Pacific Railroad as it was being built westward. This man was in our debt and, as money was scarce, I started west to collect it. I crossed the Missouri River on a ferry at Council Bluffs, as Council Bluffs and not Omaha was the starting point of the new Union Pacific. That was in the year 1865. I followed the road as far as Piedmont, then in Utah but now somewhat inside Wyoming.

[1] The date of Simon Bamberger's birth is given variously in several sources. The date he gave me is the one stated above. His son, Julian, in a letter to the writer (Oct. 12, 1950) stated:

> My father's opinion was that he was born Feb. 27, 1846; but shortly after his death, one of the insurance companies insisted that he had given 1845 as the year of his birth and that is the date which was put on his tombstone.

It was a "tie camp" for the railroad and was typical of many such camps built as the railroad pushed westward. Both the life and the men were tough and primitive. But I managed to make my way till I heard, after several months, that the business in St. Louis had failed. Being alone and far away from home, I engaged in buying up "pay checks" of the workers; I accumulated quite a little money by rediscounting them. There was considerable gold-mining excitement in the vicinity and I saw an opportunity in erecting tents and shacks, which readily rented; so I invested quite a little of my small fortune in these.[2] Shortly, a great deal of Indian excitement developed and ultimately the Indians cleared out the whole settlement.

It happened that Bolivar Roberts, who was later well known in Salt Lake, was also heavily interested in Piedmont, and his description of Utah caused me to decide to go on further west, as I had no other objective in view. I went through Bryan, Wyoming, to Ogden, a distance of 110 miles and stopped at the "Lester House," owned by a Mormon bishop. It was run by Mr. and Mrs. Briner Cohen, who later moved to Salt Lake. I think this must have been about 1869, as Corinne was already established, the railroad being far west of the town and the town very small. Charles W. Penrose was very influential in Ogden and was very friendly to me.[3] I bought a half interest in the hotel; but soon thereafter an epidemic of smallpox broke out and the Union Pacific passengers were not permitted to come up to the town, so I gave up. I took the Utah Central to Salt Lake[4] and there bought the "Delmonico Hotel," which was on the southwest corner of Main and Second South Streets, and renamed it the "White House" in partnership with B. Cohen, of Ogden. West of the hotel was the home of Charles Popper,[5] and further west was "Little's Row," built by Feramorz Little, once Mayor of Salt Lake.[6] At that time the old "Salt Lake House"

[2] These temporary camps were often the scenes of disorder and violence. Of the town of Bryan (Wyoming) which, at its height, had a population of 3,000, it was said: "A town where gamblers and desperadoes held a brief but lurid carnival of lawlessness." *Along the Union Pacific Railroad,* a pamphlet issued by the railroad (n.d., n.p.).

[3] Penrose was at that time the editor of the newspaper *Ogden Junction* and later became the crusading editor of the *Deseret News* in Salt Lake City, the first newspaper published in the Rocky Mountains. (E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City, supra,* pp. 140–141).

[4] The Utah Central Railroad was built by Brigham Young to connect the transcontinental railroad from Ogden to Salt Lake.

[5] See biography of Charles Popper, *supra,* pp. 134–135.

[6] Feramorz Little was the fourth Mayor of the city. He purchased the

was on Main Street, between First and Second South, east side, and was run by Captain Barratt; there were also the "Valley House" and the "Townsend House." About 1872, I became interested in mining, first in the "Silver Mountain" mine, then in "Sailor Jack" mines in Tintic. My brother Jacob came on, then Herman and Louis came on, and I set them up in business. I became interested in the "Centennial Eureka" mine, along with [W. W.] Chisholm, W. S. McCornick[7] and others, and made fortunes for all of us.

I then looked into some coal mines in San Pete County and found, that to operate the mines, a railroad to Nephi, about forty miles away, was essential. In 1874, at the suggestion of Mr. Maxwell, engineer of the "Flagstaff" mine, I went to England, raised a million dollars, and built the railroad to Nephi; but the coal turned out to be of inferior quality and the venture was a failure. I then turned my attention to a project for building a railroad north from Salt Lake and, about 1891, I obtained a franchise for a road from that point to Ogden. Work was started on Third West Street, opposite the Union Pacific depot and the road was completed to Beck's Hot Springs.[8] Shortly thereafter, I built the "Lagoon."[9] The road was first run with steam locomotives, when it was completed to Ogden in 1908; but in 1910, it was electrified. I was on the School Board, first by appointment and then by election. I was elected to the State Senate while John C. Cutler was Governor. I, myself, was elected Governor of the State in 1916.[10]

The Centennial-Eureka venture made Bamberger a fortune on which he could have retired and lived in comfort for the rest of his life; but the pioneer urge to play a further part in the development of the State was not to be subdued. In the enterprises in which he now engaged, he risked and lost most of his fortune,

hotel in partnership with Brigham Young (E. W. Tullidge, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. II, biographical section, p. 45).

[7] W. S. McCornick was the leading Gentile banker of Utah.

[8] Beck's Hot Springs was a hot sulphur spring just north of the city which was owned by John Beck, a wealthy mining man and friend of Bamberger.

[9] The "Lagoon" was at Farmington, about nineteen miles north of the city. It became and still is a recreation resort for Salt Lakers, and provided passenger traffic for the struggling railroad.

[10] He was a member of the Board of Education from 1898 to 1903; was made a State Senator (1903 to 1907) and elected Governor of the State for a four-year term in 1916 on the Democratic ticket.

impaired his health and undoubtedly shortened his life. The building of the railroad involved an unending struggle against the opposition of the two entrenched railroads occupying the valley, whose capital and influence were far more than Bamberger possessed. The officials of the Oregon Short Line and the Rio Grande Western railroads feared that, were Bamberger permitted to build a third line, it would afford an opportunity for competition by other western roads ambitious to secure entry into Utah and capture part of the growing traffic of this fast developing region. When Bamberger announced his intention to build the road, the prevailing opinion was that his venture was doomed to failure. Litigation and financial difficulties continued for the ensuing seventeen years, but Bamberger was hardened to opposition. A friend remarked at the time, "Only one thing can prevent him from carrying out his plan—death." One of the hardest blows he had to bear came after he had gone to the expense of electrification of the road. To induce him to change from steam, the electric company had quoted him a low rate, being anxious to find an outlet for its surplus current. Later, when they found they could dispose of this surplus power to others to better advantage, they revoked their low rate to Bamberger under the claim that it was not in accord with the law.

The fact that Simon Bamberger was the first non-Mormon, the first Democrat and the only Jew to be elected Governor of the State is of unusual interest.[11] At the time of his election the total Jewish population of the State was but a few thousand out of a total of some 500,000 people. As Governor, he took a liberal and progressive attitude.[12]

In his first message to the Utah State Legislature, Governor Bamberger stated:

> Our platform promises are covenants with the people. What we have promised we will do to the best of our ability.[13]

Upon his assuming the office of Governor, the State of Utah was faced with a deficit of nearly half a million dollars.[14] He requested

[11] Other Jewish Governors were Arthur Seligman, New Mexico; Julius Meier, Oregon; Moses Alexander, Idaho; Henry Horner, Illinois; and Herbert Lehman, New York.

[12] Noble Warrum, *Utah Since Statehood* (Chicago, 1919), p. 179.

[13] *Messages of Governor Bamberger to the 12th Legislature of the State of Utah, January 9, 1917*, p. 3.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

the Legislature to deny all requests for appropriations for new buildings for state institutions until the deficit was wiped out, as he was opposed to "deficit spending." He urged expedition and stated that in the past the Legislative Assembly had been accustomed to waste half of its first session in "idling." He advocated an effective prohibition law and suggested a constitutional amendment "to forever prohibit the manufacture or sale of intoxicants of every kind within the state."[15]

He pointed out that Utah was one of two states—the other being Delaware—having little or no provision for the regulation of public service corporations, and he urged the Legislature to create a public utilities commission with power to supervise and regulate charges made for telephone, telegraph, gas, power, light, heat, and transportation. He condemned the existing practice of public officials' accepting favors from corporations and asked for a law to make it a misdemeanor for any public service corporation to offer any public officer of the state or any county or municipality within the state, and for any official to accept, free transportation or any other privilege not extended to the general public.[16]

He demanded that unnecessary expenditures of state institutions be curbed, and mentioned specific instances where these economies could be effected. He suggested a new budget system and deplored the existing practice whereby appropriations authorized by the Legislature at the last minute left the Governor with the alternative of either vetoing these entirely or to let them stand as authorized by the Legislature. He suggested that the Governor be given power to decrease such appropriations without the necessity of vetoing them in their entirety.

He asked for a new law providing a department of public health and that all existing departments bearing on public health should be incorporated therein. He made a number of practical suggestions for improving the condition of agriculture and for conserving water. He deplored "fads in education" and asked that teachers be guaranteed payment for a full school year by depriving school boards of the privilege of shortening the school year, thus making the teachers' yearly salaries uncertain.

He advocated the passage of a workman's compensation act and

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 8.

stressed the right and privilege of voluntary association of labor for its protection against unwarranted issuing of writs and injunctions.[17] To provide for the non-partisan selection of judges, he recommended that elections of judges be held at a time other than when general elections of state officials were being held so that such elections would be taken out of politics. He proposed the enactment of a corrupt practices law to limit the expenditures of money by those seeking office.

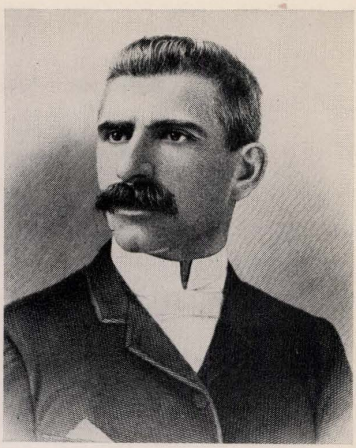
The principles which Governor Bamberger advocated in his first message to the Legislature, after being elected, were maintained by him during his entire term in office and he was successful in having most of them embodied into law.

He interested himself in the attempt to form and make successful the Jewish Agricultural Colony at Clarion, even after others had given up hope, but his efforts were in vain. The colonization scheme had its beginning in 1910, when a group of ninety-five young men from New York and fifty-five from Philadelphia expressed the desire to leave the city and go back to the soil. With the encouragement of the Reverend Doctor Joseph Krauskopf, President of the National Farm School, and the Reverend Doctor Isaac Landman of Brooklyn, they interested Samuel Newhouse and George Auerbach of Salt Lake, who, in turn, interested Governor William Spry in the enterprise. Some 6,000 acres of land were purchased in Piute County, 140 miles south of Salt Lake, under an arrangement by which the State was to supply water for irrigation. The settlers had difficulty from the start in meeting their obligations and a group of citizens of Salt Lake consisting of Adolf Baer, Adolph Simon, George S. Auerbach, David Spitz, Samuel Newhouse, Daniel Alexander, Henry Cohn and Rabbi Charles Freund, formed the Utah Colonization Fund. They took over the assets of the original group and issued $150,000 worth of mortgage bonds. Through the intercession of Rabbi Landman in 1912, Jacob H. Schiff and Julius Rosenwald, together with citizens of Utah, bought bonds; the Mormon Church contributed to the fund also. In 1913 there were 1,560 acres under cultivation—raising grain, hay and vegetables—and forty-six homes which were mostly shacks. But affairs were not going well and Simon Bamberger went east

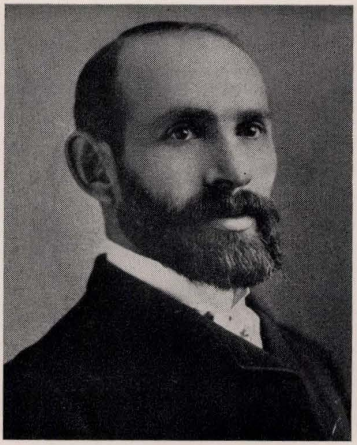
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 23.



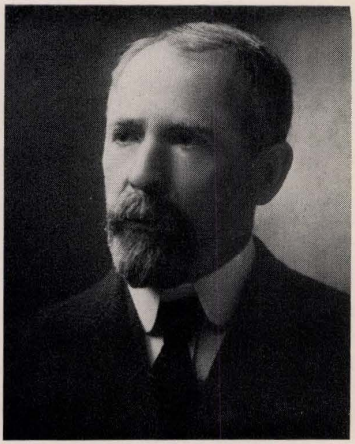
SIMON BAMBERGER



FRED SIMON



ALEXANDER COHN



LOUIS COHN

in 1913 and again in 1915 to endeavor to save the colony, but in vain. Unable to meet the accrued charges on the indebtedness to the State for interest in the sum of $19,000 and the principal of $300,000, the settlers decided to abandon the project and a receiver was appointed. Over $150,000 had been spent in five years.[18]

Simon Bamberger had taken an interest in all of the affairs of the Jews in Utah. He served as President of the Congregation B'nai Israel for several years and was active in all of the movements for the betterment of the city in which he lived. He was a stormy petrel, a warm and staunch friend to those whom he liked and a bitter opponent to those who crossed him. In stature he was short and stocky with reddish hair and small, blue, piercing eyes. He abstained from the use of tobacco and liquor and signed the prohibition law passed by the Legislature.[19] His marriage to Ida Maas of Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1881, brought him comfort and domestic affection throughout his varied career. His children were two sons, Sidney and Julian, and two daughters, Helen (Mrs. Arthur Behal of New York), and Elsie (Mrs. Herbert Michael of Salt Lake). The untimely death of his elder son, Sidney, cast a shadow over his life. His second son, Julian, carries on his activities. Governor Bamberger died in 1926, and is buried in the Jewish cemetery in Salt Lake City.

Herman Bamberger, the eldest of the brothers, was born in 1843 and died in 1924. He had a wide acquaintanceship and was known throughout the State as "Uncle Herman." He was active in varied directions and enterprises. He became the head of the Salt Lake Valley Loan & Trust Company, which had been incorporated by his brother Simon and, for a time, was in charge of the Bamberger Coal Co. and a Director of the Union State Bank of Bountiful. He had been a County Commissioner and a member of the board of the Public Library. He was long active in the affairs of the Jewish Congregation. He also was a Mason and an Elk.

Jacob Bamberger continued an interest in mining and financial affairs in Utah, and Louis, the youngest brother, later moved to California, where he died.

[18] Ms. in possession of the Jewish Agricultural Society, New York; *American Israelite,* vol. LI, Aug. 24, 1911, and Feb. 19, 1914.

[19] Noble Warrum, *Utah Since Statehood, supra,* p. 179.

The Simon Brothers

The Simon brothers, Fred, Louis, Joseph and Adolph, played a conspicuous part in the mercantile history of Utah from 1870 on, and were active in both civic and religious affairs. They were the leading manufacturers and wholesalers of millinery for many years. Later, Joseph maintained a wholesale dry-goods business of his own, and Louis and Adolph established the department store known as "The Paris." Fred Simon, the eldest brother, was born in Germany, in 1853. He arrived in New York as a boy of fifteen, where he worked for a time for a German publishing house. By 1870, he had saved enough money to enable him to start west; in 1876, he started business at Dry Canyon, Utah, tried his fortune in other small communities, and finally settled permanently in Salt Lake City.

Like many others of the merchants, his venture in business with his brothers had its tribulations and he twice won and lost a considerable fortune. Yet, throughout their careers, the two older brothers, Fred and Louis, were active in the civic and religious affairs of the community. Fred served as Secretary of the Congregation B'nai Israel from 1885 until 1889. He was a charter member of the Chamber of Commerce when it was formed in 1887 and later its Vice-President.[1]

He was held in high esteem by the Mormon people because of his efforts on their behalf when the attempt was made to disfranchise them and when the Mormon historian, Orson F. Whitney, published his four-volume *History of Utah,* the only biography of a Jew contained in it was that of Simon, accompanied by his beautifully steel-engraved portrait.[2] While the Mormons were being vigorously prosecuted under the Federal statutes prohibiting polygamy, a movement was on foot to encourage the enactment of Federal legislation which would deprive all of them of their franchise. Mormons were denied membership in the Masonic and Odd Fellows lodges, but they had been admitted to membership in the Chamber of Commerce. When a movement was inaugurated to deny them membership in the Chamber in 1890, Simon, then Vice-President,

[1] O. F. Whitney, *History of Utah, supra,* vol. IV, pp. 305–306.
[2] *Ibid.,* vol. III, p. 608.

who was presiding, shouted "no politics or religion on this floor."[3] While most of the "Gentiles" favored the passing of the Cullom and the Struble [anti-polygamy] bills to place further restrictions on the civil rights of the Mormons, several hundred of them, including Simon, petitioned Congress not to pass them. Simon wrote letters to Governor Caleb W. West giving his reasons, saying:

> The Cullom Bill looks to me more like a "Ukase" conceived in the mind of the Czar of Russia than a bill framed under the Government that is supposed to be built upon the broadest platform existing on the face of the earth . . . to punish a man and make him an outcast because he happens to belong to a religious sect which teaches certain things which he himself may not believe in, is making a precedent so far-reaching that it can only terminate by gradually disfranchising the Catholic for believing too much and the Infidel for believing too little.[4]

Whitney wrote of him:

> Fred Simon . . . was a man of brains and, what is better still, a man of heart and soul . . . He was . . . public-spirited and patriotic, a lover of justice and fair play. He died in reduced circumstances; it was because he was more charitable than provident, more impulsive than calculating, more given to the pursuit of lofty ideals and less to the mad race after materialities than is usual with men of his class.[5]

As already indicated, the brothers, Fred and Louis, married Theresa and Augusta Goldberg, daughters of Gumpert Goldberg. Fred Simon died in 1899.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 735.
[4] *Ibid.*, vol. IV, pp. 737–739.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 608.

The Baumgarten Brothers

Joseph and Leopold Baumgarten were brothers-in-law of Charles Popper. Born in Austria, they arrived in America in 1865, and moved to Utah in 1877. Joseph became the leading Salt Lake tailor of fashions whose establishment on upper Main Street was a landmark for many years. Tall and lithe, he was in sharp contrast to Leopold, his brother, who was short and possessed a high soprano voice which earned for him a nickname known throughout the Territory. Leopold, a bachelor, was closely identified with the cattle interests of Mr. Popper and annually supervised the "round-ups" of the latter's cattle in the Duchesne country when they were driven to the railroad at Mack, Colorado. He was of a most kindly and friendly disposition and had a wide acquaintanceship throughout the West. Both of the brothers are buried in the B'nai Israel Cemetery in Salt Lake.[1]

[1] From personal recollections of the author.

H. S. Krouse

H. S. Krouse, a pianist, teacher and conductor of considerable note, made a lasting impression on a community already famous for its Mormon Tabernacle organ, one of the largest in the United States, and for its great choir. Krouse was born in the city of New York, March 22, 1853, and began the study of music as a boy of nine under Von Arx and S. B. Mills. He completed his studies in Europe, where he studied under Moschelles, Reinecke and Wenzl in Leipzig, and Mathias in Paris. On returning to this country he joined the Clara Louise Kellogg Concert Company, with whom he travelled through all of the principal cities of the United States, and then joined the Adelaide Phillips Concert Company, making the same circuit, including the principal cities in Central and South America, first as a pianist and later as a conductor. He spent some time in San Francisco in an engagement with Ilma de Murska and Camillo Urso, before coming to Utah in March, 1881. A contemporary account of him states:

> In 1881, Prof. H. S. Krouse came to Salt Lake City and at once established himself as a first class pianist and teacher and during his residence here has steadily risen in the appreciation of all lovers of classical music until he now stands at the head of his profession, with a reputation second to none as a teacher of piano and higher technique. He excels as a conductor of the opera and concert and his representation of "Fantinitza" was a brilliant and artistic performance. In this Opera, Miss Jenny Hawley [now Mrs. H. C. Woodrow], a pupil of Prof. Krouse, took the title role in which her exquisite contralto voice was heard to good advantage. In setting before his pupils a high standard of musical taste and culture and encouraging the study of the works of the most eminent composers, Prof. Krouse has done more for the advance of classical and high art music than any-one else in the community; and many of his pupils have become creditable teachers.[1]

He organized and conducted the choir of the Congregation B'nai Israel for which he trained Mrs. Joseph Siegel, Miss Ada Strauss,

[1] E. W. Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City, supra,* pp. 781–782; H. H. Bancroft, *History of Utah, supra,* p. 781; H. L. A. Culmer, *Resources & Attractions in Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1894).

Mrs. Jacob Leviberg, Mr. D. Hirschler, and Joseph Oberndorfer, as well as the paid non-Jewish members. He left Utah in 1897, and became conductor of the orchestra at Daly's Theatre on Broadway, New York. It was said in Salt Lake City in those days that the influence of Krouse resulted in the purchase of grand pianos in nearly every Jewish home and the instruction of the Jewish youth in musical appreciation.

List of Persons Buried in B'nai Israel Cemetery

[As of 1922]

LIST OF PERSONS BURIED IN B'NAI ISRAEL CEMETERY

	BORN	DIED
Boukofsky, Willie	1867	1868
Brooks, George J.	1857	1869
Brooks, Milton	1865	1870
Plonsky, Moses	1866	1870
Cohen, Louisa	1854	1872
Lichtenstein, David	1853	1873
Jacobs, Rosa	1825	1875
Sanders, Nanette	1835	1875
Boukofsky, Gustav	——	1877
Watters, Sarah	1793	1878
Woolner, Charles S.	1877	1878
Siegel, Annie	1877	1878
Greenewald, Clara	1874	1879
Reggel, Albert	1861	1879
Kuhn, Amanda	——	1879
Leviberg, Rosetta	1811	1881
Goldberg, Gumpert	1832	1881
Farmer, Joseph D.	1838	1882
Wurzburg, Isidore	1863	1882
Hartenstein, Jacob	1860	1882
Joelson, J. M.	1832	1882
Leebes, Solomon	1843	1883
Goldsticker, Babette	1825	1883
Morris, Aaron	1851	1884
Ransohoff, Nicholas S.	1834	1884
Daus Children	——	1884
Behrman, Emma	1861	1885
Loch, Leon M.	1887	1887
Hirschman, Bernetta	1847	1887
Wurzburg, Louis	1813	1887
Eisenberg, Abraham	1840	1887
Hanau, Annie Cohn	1859	1887
Goldberg, Jos. J.	1885	1887
Brooks, Edgar G.	1863	1888
Lewis, Alma Maroni	1883	1888
Kuhn, Leon	1887	1888
Woolf, Lena	1846	1889
Myers, Henry	1836	1889
Greenewald, Isadore	1868	1890
Symons, Frances	1828	1891
Rubensky, Elias	——	1892
Brooks, Julius G.	1825	1892
Habish, J.	1843	1892
Saunders, Philippine	1815	1893
Nadel, Sophia	1838	1893
Petrovitzy, Abraham	1840	1893
Watters, Abraham	1809	1893
Watters, Seward	1884	1893
Watters, Herbert G.	1886	1893
Watters, Florence A.	1890	1893
Lachman, Althea	1869	1893
Tobias, Mary	1829	1894
Rich, Hattie	1886	1894
Symons, Samuel	1829	1894
Fordonsky, David	1848	1894
Wurzburg, Fanny	1827	1895
Ransohoff, Aurelia	1831	1895
Lewis, Bertha	1875	1895
Auerbach, Fred H.	1836	1896
Alexander, Ernestine	1839	1896
Welsh, Isadore L.	1861	1896
Schar, David	1843	1897
Nathan, Samuel J.	1831	1897
Conhaim, Edward	1848	1899
Gesas, May	1888	1899
Simon, Fred	1853	1899
Kahn, Fanny	1841	1899
Pearlman, N. M.	——	1901

	BORN	DIED
Brooks, Fanny	1836	1901
Watters, Isidore Max	1880	1901
Alexander, Daniel	1842	1902
Cohn, Alex	1844	1902
Hirschman, Ferdinand	1856	1902
Kolitz, Louis	1860	1902
Graupe, Bertha F.	1820	1902
Alexander, Jacob	1823	1903
Hanak, S. L.	1834	1903
Stiefel, Alexander	1827	1904
Sommer, Morris	1860	1904
Benson, Shepard A.	1869	1904
Levy, Samuel	1841	1904
Marks, Isadore	1845	1904
Levy, Morris	1831	1905
Greenewald, Helena	1831	1905
Kahn, Emanuel	1844	1905
Morris, Isidore	1844	1906
Lewis, Isaac N.	1847	1906
Lessing, Luis	1832	1906
Armer, Leon	1871	1906
Watters, Ichel	1827	1907
Engler, Jacob	1834	1907
Symons, Hannah	1852	1907
Bass, John	1842	1907
Boukofsky, Emil	1827	1908
Oberndorfer, Jos.	1859	1909
Hirschman, Moses	1832	1909
Mehesy, Moritz	1819	1909
Woolf, Simon	1851	1909
Spitz, Israel	1848	1910
Lessing, Yetta	1836	1910
Moritz, Jacob	——	1910
Engler, Louis	1843	1911
Siegel, Elizabeth	1825	1912
Rhode, George	1836	1912
Marks, Anna	1847	1912
Brisacher, Solomon	1832	1912
Phillips, Moses C.	1828	1913
Meyer, Isador	1846	1913
Levy, Phillipine	1840	1916
Kahn, Juliette M.	1874	1916
Kahn, Max	1829	1916
Cohn, Carrie L.	1857	1916
Friedman, Simon J.	1846	1917
Simon, Adolph	1865	1917
Wolff, Marks	1842	1918
Graupe, Martha W.	1873	1918
Lochwitz, Minnie	1855	1919
Auerbach, Samuel H.	1847	1920
Greenewald, Aaron	1831	1921
Friedman, Joseph	1848	1921
Cohn, Henry	1845	1921
Rich, Bernard	1854	1922
Goldberg, Helena	1845	1922

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Index

INDEX

A

Abrahams, Levi, 17, 25-26.
Adler, Charles, 19, 73, 98.
Ahronson, A., 146.
Alexander, Daniel, 178.
Alexander, Ernestine, 177.
Alexander, Jacob, 178.
Alexander, Moses, 166 n.
Alta, Utah, 20.
Amsterdam, 13.
Andrews, A., 146.
Arizona, 1.
Armer, Leon, 178.
Arnstein, L., 19, 98.
Around the Horn route, 2, 5, 18, 45, 126, 134, 144. *See* Cape Horn.
Articles of Faith, Mormon, 7, 12, 22, 38. *See* Mormons.
Arx, Von, 173.
Auerbach, Bessie, 133.
Auerbach Brothers, 131-33.
Auerbach, David, 18.
Auerbach family, 31, 46, 58, 62, 73, 131-33.
Auerbach, Frederick, 133.
Auerbach, Frederick H., 5, 18-19, 31, 46, 49, 62, 69-70, 84, 86, 96, 131-33, 177.
Auerbach, George S., 133, 168.
Auerbach, Herbert S., 131 n., 133.
Auerbach, Jennie, 133.
Auerbach, Josephine. *See* Siegel, Mrs. Joseph H.
Auerbach, Madeline. *See* Werner, Mrs. Gerard.
Auerbach, Samuel H., 5, 18-19, 28 n., 31, 46, 49, 62, 75, 82, 86, 131-33, 178.
Auerbach, Mrs. Samuel H., 123 n., 124-25, 133. *See* Brooks, Evelyn.
Auerbach, Selma. *See* Mohr, Mrs. Gustav.
Auerbach, Theodore H., 5, 18, 31, 46, 49, 62, 92, 96-97, 131-33.
Austin, Nev., 46, 131-32.

B

Bachman, Ben, 56.
Baer, Adolf, 168.
Baer, Mrs. Ezra (Cohn), 158 n.
Balls, 78, 81, 98-101.
Bamberger, Elsie. *See* Michael, Mrs. Herbert.
Bamberger, Emanuel, 163.
Bamberger, Mrs. Emanuel, 163.
Bamberger family, 31, 163-69.
Bamberger, Helen. *See* Behal, Mrs. Arthur.
Bamberger, Herman, 31, 85-86, 163, 169.
Bamberger, Jacob E., 31, 76, 119, 163, 169.
Bamberger, Julian, 163 n., 169.
Bamberger, Louis, 31, 163, 169.
Bamberger railroad, 136, 165.
Bamberger, Setta. *See* Rothenberg, Mrs. Louis.
Bamberger, Sidney, 169.
Bamberger, Simon, 9-10, 30-31, 61, 64, 84, 86, 97, 136, 163-69.
Bamberger, Mrs. Simon, 169.
Bancroft, Hubert H., 12 n., 13, 132.
Bancroft Library, vii.
Bannock, Mont., 160.
Barnett, H., 19.
Barnett, J., 101.
Barratt, Capt., 165.
Baruch, Simon, 19.
Baskin, Robert N., 140.
Bass, John, 178.
Bassett & Roberts, 47.
Bauman, J., & Co., 49.
Baumgarten Brothers, 172.
Baumgarten, Carlotta. *See* Popper, Mrs. Charles.
Baumgarten, Joseph, 76-77, 172.
Baumgarten, Leopold L., 19, 77, 172.
Beck, John, 165.
Behal, Mrs. Arthur, 86, 169.
Behrman, Emma, 177.

Behrman, Jacob, 19.
Belleville, Ill., 80.
Ben Israel, 10.
Benevolent societies, 95, 97-102. *See* Philanthrophy.
Bennett, F., 86.
Benson, Apostle, 120.
Benson, Shepard A., 178.
Bergman & Goldman, 20.
Bernstein, Julius, 61-62.
Bigler, Gov. (of California), 148.
Bigler, John, 148.
Bingham, Utah, 20, 136-37.
Binnard, A. Watters y, 149.
Biographies, 108-74.
Black Hills, Dakota, 138.
Bloch, Joshua, vii.
Bloomfield, Nev., 162.
Blumenthal Brothers, 20.
Blumenthal, Isaac, 19.
Blumenthal, Phineas, 19.
B'nai B'rith, 97.
B'nai Israel Congregation (Salt Lake City), 16, 26-27, 76 ff., 81-91, 97, 100, 127, 129, 135, 138, 140, 154, 157, 162, 169-70, 173-74.
Bodenberg, George, 128.
Bodenberg & Kahn, 47, 49, 128.
Bodie, Calif., 131.
Boise, Idaho, 124.
Book of Mormon, 7-8.
Bornstein, Jacob, 20.
Boukofsky, Emil, 178.
Boukofsky, Gustav, 18, 177.
Boukofsky, Louis, 19, 31.
Boukofsky, Nelson, 19, 31, 70, 97, 129.
Boukofsky, Willie S., 93, 177.
Bourne & Needham, 47.
Bowles, Samuel, 53.
Brassfield, S. Newton, 47-48, 152.
Breakel, Ellen, 23.
Bret Harte, 140.
Brigham City, Utah, 63.
Brisacher, Solomon, 178.
Brishacher, H., 101.
Brooks, Edgar G., 125, 177.
Brooks, Evelyn. *See* Auerbach, Mrs. Samuel H.
Brooks family, 123-25.
Brooks, Fanny, 4, 17, 30, 84, 93, 123-25, 178.
Brooks, George J., 93, 125, 177.
Brooks, Julius Gerson, 4, 17-18, 28, 30, 43, 93, 123-25, 133, 177.
Brooks, Mrs. Julius Gerson. *See* Brooks, Fanny.
Brooks, Milton, 125, 177.
Brown, Thomas D., & Sons, 49.
Bruck, Alfred Julius, 123 n.
Bruck family, 123.
Bryan, Wyo., 132, 164 n.
Buchanan, James, 44.
Burton, Richard, 53.
Bustamente, Ant. S., 147.
Buxbaum, M., 19.

C

Cahen, Solomon, 136.
California, vii, 1, 5, 8, 16-18, 28, 32-33, 40-43, 45, 60, 108 ff., 119-20, 122, 131, 140, 142, 144-46, 148-50, 161-62.
California State Library, vii.
California Volunteers, 70, 95, 136.
Callahan, M. B., 49.
Camp Douglas, 100, 136.
Camp Floyd, 44-45.
Cannon, Gen., 99.
Cape Horn, 2, 5, 16. *See* Around the Cape route.
Caracas, Venezuela, 149.
Carney, Jennie, 72.
Carson, Kit, 110.
Carvalho, David Nunes, 108-9.
Carvalho, Solomon Nunes, v, 4, 17, 30, 108-22.
Carvalho, Solomon Solis, 109.
Cemetery, B'nai Israel, 91-94, 137-40, 154, 162, 169, 172, 177-78.
Centennial-Eureka venture, 165-66.
Central America, 173.
Central Pacific Railroad, 60.
Chamber of Commerce (Salt Lake City), 170-71.
Chandless, William, 8-9.
Chinese, 61, 64.
Chisholm, W. W., 165.
Chislett & Clark, 47.
Christian Scientists, 88.
Church Historian's Office, Mormon, vi.
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. *See* Mormons.
Clarion Colony, Utah, 168-69.
Cleveland, Grover, 136-37.

Codman, John, 64.
Cohen, Briner, 129, 164.
Cohen, Mrs. Briner, 164.
Cohen, Fanny. *See* Kahn, Mrs. Emanuel.
Cohen, H. M., 19, 67.
Cohen, Mrs. H. M., 98.
Cohen, Lennel, 19.
Cohen, Sarah. *See* Kahn, Mrs. Samuel.
Cohn, Abe, 20.
Cohn, Alexander, 19, 31, 49, 58, 62, 75, 85-86, 94, 140-41, 178.
Cohn, Mrs. Alexander, 140.
Cohn, Carrie L., 178.
Cohn, Harriet, 86.
Cohn, Henry, 19, 86, 97, 158-59, 178.
Cohn, Mrs. Henry, 158.
Cohn, Louis, 18-20, 31, 49, 58, 62, 73, 96, 140-41.
Cohn, Louisa, 177.
Cohn, Meyer, 5.
Cohn & Munter, 140.
Colfax, Schuyler, 9, 129.
Colorado, 1.
Columbia College, 14.
Comstock Lode, 45-46, 134.
Congregational Church (Salt Lake City), 69-72, 82, 129.
Commercial development, 37-59. *See* Merchants.
Conhaim, Edward, 177.
Connor, Patrick E., 45, 70, 95, 136.
Constantinople, 13.
Converts to Mormonism, Jewish, 8, 12, 16-17, 22-27.
Corinne, Utah, 20, 58, 60-65, 74, 127, 155-57, 160-61, 164.
Council Bluffs, Iowa, 160, 163.
Cowen, S. M., 19.
Crime. *See* Lawlessness.
Cuba, 144.
Cullom law, 171.
Cutler, John C., 165.

D

Danville, Ill., 128.
Daus children, 177.
Davis, H., 18.
Day of Atonement. *See* Yom Kippur.
Dead Sea, 11.
Defoe, Daniel, 64-65.
De Hübner, Baron M. le, 64.
Delaware Indians, 109-11, 116 f.
Dellenbaugh, Frederick S., 114.
Denver, Colo., 160.
Des Moines, Iowa, 160.
Dietary laws, 30.
Directories, 18-19.
Disenberg, M., 76.
Dreyfus, Alfred, 108-9.
Drummond, W. W., 25-26.
Dry Canyon, Utah, 170.
Durant, Oliver, 49.

E

Edmunds law, 133, 136.
Edmunds-Tucker law, 133.
Egelson, Louis I., viii.
Egloffstein, Mr., 117-19.
Eiseman, Simon, 88.
Eisenberg, Abraham, 177.
Eisenhimel, Charles, 19.
Elgutter, Morris, 18, 49.
Elgutter, Solomon, 18.
Elial, Leonard, 20.
Elkin, Heiman J., 83-84, 86.
Ellis, B., 18, 31.
Ellis Brothers, 18, 49.
Ellis, Isaac, 18, 31.
Ellis, James M., 31, 46, 49, 92, 96.
Ellis, Nathan, 18, 27, 31, 46, 67, 69.
Emanu-El Congregation (San Francisco), 145.
Engler, Jacob, 19, 178.
Engler, Louis, 18, 178.
Enoch, 37-38.
Ephraim, 8, 14.
Equitable Life Assurance Society, 4, 138.
Evanston, Wyo., 160.

F

Fallon, Nev., 17 n.
Farmer, Joseph D., 20, 62, 77, 140, 156-57, 177.
Federal troops, 3, 34-35. *See also* Connor, Patrick E.; Johnston, Albert Sydney; Steptoe, Col. E. J.
Ferguson, Thomas H., 119 n.
Fielding, Joseph, 23.
Filibustering, 147.
Fitzpatrick, Thomas, 110.

Fleish, Helena. *See* Bamberger, Mrs. Emanuel.
Fordonsky, David, 177.
Fort Douglas, 45, 83, 100.
Forty Centuries of Ink, 108.
Franklin, Louis, 145.
Fraternal orders, 95-97.
Frémont, John Charles, v, 4, 17, 108-22.
Freund, Charles J., v, 89-90, 168.
Friedman, Emil, 85.
Friedman, Joseph, 178.
Friedman, Lee M., vii.
Friedman, Moritz, 97.
Friedman, S., 19.
Friedman, Simon J., 178.
Fuller, Oliver, 113, 117-19.

G

Gadsden Purchase, 2 n.
Galena, Ill., 4, 123-24.
Gans, Abraham, 18, 126.
Ganster, Mr., 81.
Gensler, S., 19.
Gentiles, 8-10, 33, 35-36, 45-63, 73-74, 126-27, 129, 132-33, 152, 165 n. *See* Mormons.
Gesas, May, 177.
Gilbert & Gerrish, 42.
Gilbert, Mrs. John, 124.
Gilbert & Sons, 46, 49.
Gillis, Mabel R., vii.
Glocksman, M., 18.
Glucksman & Cohn, 49.
Godbe, William S., 52, 73 n.
Goddard, Miss. *See* Morris, Mrs. Isidore.
Gold Hills, Nev., 162.
Gold Rush, 5-6, 17, 33, 40-42, 131, 144, 160, 163.
Gold, S., 19.
Goldberg, Augusta. *See* Simon, Mrs. Louis.
Goldberg, Gumpert, 5, 62, 64, 77, 155, 171, 177.
Goldberg, Mrs. Gumpert, 155, 178.
Goldberg, Joseph J., 177.
Goldberg, Leopold, 19, 75-76, 84-85, 94.
Goldberg, Maurice, 19.
Goldberg, Theresa. *See* Simon, Mrs. Fred.
Goldman, Mrs. C., 19, 73, 98.
Goldstein, S., 18.
Goldsticker, Babette, 177.
Goldsticker, M., 27.
Goodwin, Charles C., 85.
Gordon, Samuel H., 90.
Gottlieb, Joel, 19.
Grant, Ulysses S., 123-24.
Gratz, Sarah. *See* Wasser [Watters], Mrs. Wolf.
Graupe, Albert, 97.
Graupe, Augusta. *See* Watters, Mrs. Ichel.
Graupe, Bertha, 178.
Graupe, Martha W., 150-54, 178.
Graupe, William, 97.
Graupe, Mrs. William, 154, 178.
Great Britain, 12-14.
Great Salt Lake City, 7-8, 11-12, 17-20, 22-23, 28-30, 32-33, 40-41, 43-54, 56, 61-62, 67-69, 108, 119, 123-24, 126, 128, 131-32, 140, 143, 149-50, 160-61, 168, 170. *See also* B'nai Israel Congregation; Cemetery, B'nai Israel.
Green, Eva Hannah. *See* Phillips, Mrs. Moses Caspar.
Greenbaum, Simon, 19.
Greenberg, M., 18.
Greenewald, Aaron, 5, 18, 20, 30, 62, 76, 178
Greenewald, Bertha, 178.
Greenewald, Clara, 177.
Greenewald, Helena, 178.
Greenewald, Isadore, 177.
Greenewald & La Blanc, 21.
Greenig, Daniel, 19.
Greenwald, Jacob J., 21.
Griffin, Ga., 143.
Guadalupe-Hidalgo, treaty of, 2 n.
Guaymas, Sonora, Mexico, 146-48.
Gunnison, John W., 22 n., 26, 38-39, 119.
Guthrie, John W., 61.

H

Habish, J., 177.
Hailey, Idaho, 137.
Hammond, George P., vii.
Hanak, Simon L., 19, 30, 178.
Hanak, Mrs. S., 98.
Hanau, Annie Cohn, 177.

Hardy, Judge, 99.
Harrison, Elias T., 73 n.
Hartenstein, Jacob, 177.
Hawley, Jenny. *See* Woodrow, Mrs. H. C.
Hayden, Judge, 99.
Heap, Mr. 119.
Hebrew, 7, 14, 23, 66.
Hebrew Benevolent Society (Salt Lake City), 92, 98-99.
Hebrew Benevolent Society (San Francisco), 146.
Hebrew School, 77-79, 81. *See* Sabbath School.
Heilbronner, Mr., 72.
Helena, Mont., 155, 161.
Herschell, Solomon, 14.
Hilp, F. F., 92.
Hirschler, D., 86, 174.
Hirschman, Beatrice, 161.
Hirschman, Bernetta, 177.
Hirschman, Ferdinand, 178.
Hirschman, Henry, 19, 31.
Hirschman, Herbert, 94, 161.
Hirschman, Jerome, 161.
Hirschman, Moses, 5, 19, 31, 75-76, 98, 161, 178.
Hogle Brothers, 162.
Hollander, Leo, 20.
Hollander, Theo., 20, 73.
Holliday, Ben, 3.
Holliday & Warner, 42.
Holy Days, High. *See* Rosh Hashanah; Yom Kippur.
Holy Land, 11-12.
Hooper & Eldridge, 47.
Horner, Henry, 166 n.
Horner (J. M.) & Co., 42.
Hudson, Ohio, 14.
Hunter, Thomas, 108.
Huntington Library, vii.
Hyams, Louis, 20, 97, 101.
Hyde, Orson, 12-14, 23, 27.

I

Idaho, 43, 60-61, 93, 128, 132, 156.
Immigrants: from Alsace-Lorraine, 22; from Austria, 172; from Bavaria, 138; from Bohemia, 134; from Germany, 123, 126, 128, 138, 142, 150, 153-54, 158, 160-63, 170; from Poland, 137, 140, 162; from Russia, 17 n.; from Silesia, 123.
Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West, 109 ff.
Independence Hall (Salt Lake City), 70-72, 129.
Independence, Mo., 16, 143.
Independent Order of Odd Fellows, 77, 96-97, 135, 143, 154, 170.
Indians, 3, 31, 64, 91, 109-19, 121, 124, 127-28, 147-48, 164.
Intermarriage, 27.
Isaacs, Stanley, 142 n.
Isaacs, Samuel Myer, 142.
Isaacson, Edward, 26.
Israelites, Mormon ties with 7-15, 26, 34, 39, 120. *See* Mormons.

J

Jacob, A., 20.
Jacobs, Adolph, 97.
Jacobs, Elias, 20.
Jacobs, I., 20.
Jacobs, Rosa, 177.
Jacobson, Moses P., v, 86-87.
Jennings Brothers, 40, 42-43, 52.
Jerusalem, 7, 11, 13, 15, 98, 120.
Jewelry manufacture, 150-51.
Jewish Agriculture Society, 168-69.
Joel, S. W., 18.
Joelson, J. M., 20, 77, 177.
Joelson, Mrs. J. M., 98.
Johnson, Gov., 99.
Johnston, Albert Sydney, 34-35, 43-45, 95, 126.
Jones, Samuel O., 56.
Jones, T. R., 78.
Joseph, Harry S., 79, 136.
Joseph, Mrs. Harry S., 79, 136.
Joy & Black, 85.

K

Kahn Brothers, 27 n., 30, 58, 62, 128-30.
Kahn, Emanuel, 18, 20, 31, 62, 75, 86, 96, 128-30, 178.
Kahn, Mrs. Emanuel, 129.
Kahn, Fanny, 177.
Kahn, Juliette M., 178.
Kahn, Louis, 128.
Kahn, Max, 178.

Kahn, Samuel, 5, 18, 20, 31, 43, 62, 64, 70, 72, 76-77, 81, 96, 128-30.
Kahn, Mrs. Samuel, 81, 129.
Kaiser, Mr., 87-88.
Kansas Territory, 28, 128.
Keller, Joseph, 72.
Kelly, A. H., 76.
Kesher Shel Barzel Order, 149.
Keyser, Aaron, 135.
Kiesel, Fred J., 155.
Kimball, Heber C., 23.
Kimball & Lawrence, 47.
King, James, 127.
Kirtland, Ohio, 14.
Klipstein & Miller, 20.
Klipstine, Israel, 28.
Klipstine, Wesley, 28.
Klopstock & Co., 49.
Kolitz, Louis, 178.
Korn, J., 88.
Krauskopf, Joseph, 168.
Krouse, H. M., 86, 173-74.
Kuhn, Abraham, 5, 20, 31, 62, 160.
Kuhn, Mrs. Abraham (Rosenbaum), 160.
Kuhn, Adam, 5, 20, 31, 62, 160.
Kuhn, Amanda, 177.
Kuhn, B., 20.
Kuhn Brothers, 31, 62, 160.
Kuhn, Leon, 177.

L

Labatt, Abraham Cohen, 145.
Lachman, Althea, 177.
Ladies Hebrew Benevolent Society, 78, 82-83, 87-88, 94, 98-100, 154.
Landman, Isaac, 168.
Lannan, Martin, 134.
Lannan, Patrick, 134.
Lawlessness, 32-36, 44, 47-48, 51-52, 129-30, 137, 152-53, 164.
Lawrence, Henry W., 35, 52.
Lazarus, Sarah. *See* Siegel, Mrs. Henry.
Leebes, Solomon, 177.
Leeser, Isaac, 91, 108.
Lehi, 7.
Lehman, Herbert H., 166 n.
Lesser, S., & Bros., 18, 49.
Lessing, Luis, 178.
Lessing, Yetta, 178.
Leventhal, A., 18, 20.
Levi, A., 20, 86.
Levi, David, 25.
Levi, Harry, 20.
Levi, M., 74.
Leviberg, J., 76.
Leviberg, Mrs. Jacob, 86, 174.
Leviberg, Rosetta, 177.
Levy, Ben, 20.
Levy, F., 21.
Levy, L., 18.
Levy, Morris, 178.
Levy, Phillipine, 178.
Levy, S., 20.
Levy, Sam, 20.
Levy, Samuel, 21, 97, 178.
Levy, Solomon, 20, 76, 98.
Lewis, Alma Maroni, 177.
Lewis, Bertha, 177.
Lewis, Isaac N., 178.
Liberal Institute, 73-74, 99.
Liberal Party, 63-64, 127, 130.
Liberalist, 87.
Lichtenstein, David, 177.
Lichtenstein, Moses, 146-48.
Lincoln, Abraham, 129.
Lion of Judah, 14.
Lipman, M. H., 76, 78.
Lipman, Morris, 21.
Lippman, Carrie. *See* Cohn, Mrs. Louis.
Lippman, Jennie. *See* Cohn, Mrs. Alexander.
Little, Feramorz, 164.
Living conditions, 28-36.
Livingston & Kinkead, 42, 53.
Lobenberg, Aurelia. *See* Ransohoff, Mrs. Nicholas Siegfried.
Loch, Leon M., 177.
Lochwitz, Aaron, 30.
Lochwitz, Minnie, 178.
Logan, Utah, 20.
London, England, 13, 142.
Lorimer, Mrs. Emma C., 61 n.
Lovenberg, Rev. H., 72, 74.
Lunt, Henry, 119.
Lyman, C. W., 85.

M

Maas, Ida. *See* Bamberger, Mrs. Simon.
McCormick, W. S., 165.
McGrath, John H., 96.

McGrorty & Henry, 49.
McLeod, Norman, 70.
Macon, Ga., 143.
Malsh, Julius, 62, 64, 75-77, 85.
Manasseh, 7.
Mann, Mr., 145.
Marcus, Jacob R., vii.
Marks, Anna, 178.
Marks, Berry, 4, 16, 17 n.
Marks, I., 20.
Marks, Isadore, 178.
Marks, Israel, 62.
Marks, Mrs. Israel, 61.
Marshall & Royle, 135.
Marysville, Calif., 124.
Mason, James Murray, 150.
Masonic Library, 96.
Masonic Order, 77, 95-97, 140, 143-44, 162, 169-70.
Maxwell, Mr., 165.
Meeks, J., 49.
Mehesy, Moritz, 178.
Meier, Julius, 166 n.
Mendelsohn, David, 20, 73.
Mendelsohn, Mrs. David, 98.
Mendelsohn, Julius, 21.
Merchants, 19-20, 30, 39-50, 52-59, 124-138, 140, 155, 160-63, 170, 172.
Mexicans, 109 ff., 115 f., 118.
Mexico, 2 n., 142-44, 146-50.
Meyer, Fred, 20.
Meyer, H., 18, 20, 73.
Meyer, Isador, 178.
Meyer, Isidore S., vii.
Meyer, M., 18, 20.
Meyer, Philip, 84, 86.
Meyer & Wertheimer, 21.
Meyers, Henry, 20.
Meyers, M., 97.
Meyers, Mr., 17.
Michael, Mrs. Herbert, 169.
Mills, S. B., 173.
Minhag America, 80.
Mining, 33-34, 45-46, 60, 124, 131, 133, 136, 138, 140, 150, 152, 154, 161, 163, 165, 170, 172.
Monheim, Henry, 78, 84-85.
Mohr, Mrs. Gustav, 133.
Montana, 32, 60-62, 93, 128, 154, 160-61.
Montefiore Congregation (Salt Lake City), 82, 137.
Moritz, G., 20.
Moritz, Jacob, 20, 178.
Moritz, Moses, 20, 76-77.
Mormons: attitude toward business of, 37-39, 52-59; effect of gold rush on, 40-42; effect of Johnston's army on, 43-45; "Gentile" petition to, 48-49; hierarchy of, 7, 14; missionaries of, 12-13, 22 n., 122; relations with "Gentiles," 51, 119-20, 152-54, 168, 170-71; similarities of Israelites and, vi-vii, 7-8, 13, 22, 120; study of Hebrew by, 14; tithing by, 39-40; trail of, 1-2, 33, 124, 143. *See* Converts to Mormonism, Jewish.
Morris, Aaron, 136-37, 177.
Morris, B., 19.
Morris, Helena. *See* Goldberg, Mrs. Gumpert.
Morris, Isidore, 18, 20, 27, 80-82, 136-37, 178.
Morris, Mrs. Isidore, 136.
Morris, Mamie. *See* Joseph, Mrs. Harry S.
Morse, Walcott & Co., 49.
Museum of the Daughters of the Utah Pioneers, 120 n.
Myer, M., 62, 64.
Myers, Henry, 177.
Myers, M., 20, 72.

N

Nadel, Martin, 75.
Nadel, Sophia, 177.
Naghel, Samuel W., 147.
Nathan, Louis, 17.
Nathan, Mr., 128.
Nathan, Samuel J., 18, 20, 75, 77, 96, 177.
Nauvoo, Ill., 13, 23.
Nebraska City, Nev., 138.
Neibaur, Alexander, 16-17, 22-24, 123-24.
Neibaur, Alice Breakel, 24.
Neibaur, Nathan, 22.
Neibaur, Rebecca Peretz, 22.
Nevada, 60, 93.
Nevada City, Calif., 28.
"New Jerusalem," 11.
New Mexico, 1.
New Year. *See* Rosh Hashanah.
Newbaur, Mr., 20.

Newfield, Watters & Co., 144.
Newhouse, Samuel, 168.
Nibley, Charles W., 24.
Nibley, Mrs. Charles W., 17 n., 24 n.
Nicaragua, 147.
Nixon, William, 42.

O

Oberfelder, I., 18.
Oberndorfer, Joseph, 174.
Odd Fellows. *See* Independent Order of Odd Fellows.
Occupations, 19-20, 30. *See also* Jewelry manufacture; Merchants; Mining; Peddling; Ranching.
Ogden, Utah, 21, 30, 61, 74, 77, 127, 132, 152, 155, 160, 165.
"Olive Branch of Israel," 12-13.
Omaha, Neb., 1, 138.
O'Neil, John, 62.
Ophir, Utah, 21.
Ord, Gen., 99.
"Order of Enoch," 37-38.
Oregon, 43.
Oregon Short Line, 166.
Orphans Home and Day Nursery (Salt Lake City), 162.
Ornstein, Jacob, 18, 20, 134.
Orthodox, Judaism, 73, 79-82, 136-37, 145, 162. *See* Montefiore Congregation (Salt Lake City).
Overland route, 2, 4-5, 17, 33, 40-41, 45, 62, 97, 109 ff., 124, 127-28, 138, 143, 161-63. *See* Stages.

P

Palestine, 7, 10-14.
Palmer, William R., 121 n.
Panama route, 2, 5-6, 18, 41, 45, 124, 131, 142 n., 150, 161-62.
Panguitch Canyon, 116.
Parowan, Utah, 108, 116, 118-19, 121.
Passover, 72, 74-75.
Pearlman, B. M., 20.
Pearlman, N. M., 177.
Peddling, 24, 123, 158.
Peep o' Day, 129.
Peixotto, Benjamin F., 97.
Penrose, Charles W., 164.
"Petenit," 120.
Petition of Gentile merchants and Mormon reply, 48-52.
Petrovitzy, Abraham, 177.
Philanthropy, 91-92, 97-102, 146, 162.
Phillips, Francis, 162.
Phillips, G. W., 4.
Phillips, Harris, 162.
Phillips, Leah, 162.
Phillips, Matilda, 162.
Phillips, Moses Caspar, 72, 75-76, 79, 81, 94, 162, 178.
Phillips, Mrs. Moses Caspar, 162.
Pioneer Day, 134.
Piute County, Utah, 168.
Plonsky, J., 20.
Plonsky, Moses, 177.
Plonsky, S., 21.
Podlech, A., 20.
Poker Flats, Calif., 140.
Polygamy: 25, 34, 36, 133, 136-37, 170; laws against, 82, 133-36, 171.
Ponasky, Newman, 20.
Popper, Charles, 5, 18, 20, 30, 35, 46, 70, 75-81, 94, 96, 98, 134-35, 152-54, 164, 172.
Popper, Mrs. Charles, 94, 98, 134-35.
Popper, Isaac, 135.
Popper, Lulu, 135.
Popper, Rebecca, 135.
Popper, Rudolph, 135.
Popper, William, 135.
Popperton, Utah, 134-35.
Population statistics, 18 ff., 67, 69.
Portland, Ore., 124, 150.
Prag, Conrad, 18, 49, 68, 126.
Prejudice, 32-36, 47 ff. *See* Lawlessness.
Promontory, Utah, 61, 132.
Provost, Capt., 148.
Purim, 78.

R

Rabbit Creek, Calif., 131.
Ranching, 134.
Ransohoff, Aurelia, 126-27, 177.
Ransohoff & Co., 49, 126, 128. *See* Ransohoff, Nicholas Siegfried.
Ransohoff, Elias, 4-5, 18, 31, 46, 70, 126, 129.
Ransohoff, Nicholas Siegfried, 4, 17-18, 31, 43, 45-46, 47, 49, 56, 62, 64, 75, 126-27, 177.

Ransohoff, Mrs. Nicholas Siegfried, 126.
Ravenna, Ohio, 14.
Reese, John and Enoch, 42.
Reform Judaism, 79-82, 137, 162.
Reggel, Albert, 177.
Reggel, Louis, 18, 20, 35-36, 62, 73, 76-77, 81, 94.
Reggel, Mrs., 81.
Reggel, Mrs. Samuel, 94.
Religious observance, 66-89, 92-93. *See also* B'nai Israel Congregation; Holy Days, High; Montefiore Congregation.
Restoration of Israel, 13-15.
Reynolds, Louis G., 89.
Rhode, George, 178.
Rice, William F., 90.
Rich, Bernard, 178.
Rich, Hattie, 177.
Richards, Willard, 23.
Richardson, Albert D., 9.
Rio Grande Western Railroad, 166.
Roberts, Bolivar, 164.
Robinson, J. King, 48, 70, 129, 152.
Robinson, Juan A., 147-48.
Rocky Mountains, 40, 109 ff., 124.
Rosenbaum, Abraham, 160.
Rosenbaum, Morris, 4, 17, 24.
Rosenberg, Marks [Marx], 17 n.
Rosenberg, Meyer, 4, 16, 17 n.
Rosenfeld, Henry, 17, 24.
Rosenthal, Mr., 72.
Rosenwald, Julius, 168.
Rosh Hashanah, 68, 72-74, 77, 81-82, 89, 134.
Rothenberg, Louis, 163.
Rothenberg, Mrs. Louis, 163.
Rowe, Mrs. A., 86.
Rubensky, Elias, 177.
Rubin, H., 19.
Russia, 117 n.

S

Sabbath School, 88-90. *See* Hebrew School.
Sacramento, Calif., 144, 148, 150.
St. Louis, Mo., 109 f., 134, 143-44, 163-64.
Salt Lake City. *See* Great Salt Lake City.
San Francisco, Calif., 5-6, 122, 126, 132, 134, 142, 144-146, 148-150, 162, 173.
Sanders, Nanette, 177.
Saunders, Philippine, 177.
Schanfield, "Prof.," 89.
Schar, David, 177.
Schiff, Jacob H., 168.
Schiller, Herbert M., 162 n.
Schoenberg, I., 20.
Schreiber, Dr., 86.
Scotts Bar, Sonoma County, Calif., 162.
Seixas, Gershom Mendes, 14.
Seixas, Joshua, 14.
Selig, Joseph, 21.
Selig, Mrs. G., 98.
Seligman, Arthur, 166.
Settlers, earliest Jewish, 16-21, 22 ff., 123-74.
Shaarai Tzedeck Congregation (San Francisco), 145-46.
Shaaray Tefila Congregation (New York), 142.
Shabuot, 67-68.
Shannon, Joseph, 144.
Sharp, John, 76.
Shearith Israel Congregation (New York), 14.
Sidenberg, Mrs. Henry, 123.
Siegel, Annie, 177.
Siegel Brothers, 31, 46-47, 49, 58, 73, 86, 138-39.
Siegel & Co., 47.
Siegel, Elias, 20, 31, 97.
Siegel, Elizabeth, 178.
Siegel, Henry, 4, 31, 46, 75-76, 81, 86, 138.
Siegel, Mrs. Henry, 138.
Siegel, J., 18.
Siegel, Joseph, 20, 46, 92, 138.
Siegel, Mrs. Joseph, 86, 173.
Siegel, Joseph H., 4 n.
Siegel, Mrs. Joseph H., 133.
Siegel, Solomon, 18, 20, 31, 46, 69, 96, 138.
Sierra County, Calif., 140.
Sierra Nevada Mountains, 17-18, 33, 40.
Silberstein, Mrs. Edward (Goldberg), 155.
Silver, Joseph, 70.

Simon, Adolph, 31, 168, 170, 178.
Simon Brothers, 31, 47, 170-71.
Simon, Fred, 31, 78, 136, 170-71, 177.
Simon, Mrs. Fred, 136, 155, 171.
Simon, Joseph, 20, 23, 31, 85-86, 170.
Simon, Louis, 31, 170.
Simon, Mrs. Louis (Goldberg), 61 n., 155, 171.
Simon, Sigmund [Sieg.], 20, 87-89, 94.
Simons, Lucien, 21.
Slidell, John, 150.
Sloan, William, 49.
Smith, George A., 13.
Smith, John Henry, 137.
Smith, Joseph, 7, 12-14, 23, 37-38.
Smith, Joseph F., 137.
Smith, William R., 136-37.
Smoot, Abraham O., 119 n.
Snow, Lorenzo, 14.
Solomon, Isaac, 158.
Solomon, Mathilda. *See* Cohn, Mrs. Henry.
Sommer, Morris, 178.
Sonora, Mexico, 148.
South America, 142-43, 173.
Spitz, David, 168.
Spitz, Israel, 178.
Spry, William, 168.
Stages, 3, 18, 124, 143. *See* Overland route.
Steeg, Rebecca. *See* Watters, Mrs. Abraham.[2]
Steiner, Adolph, 90.
Stenhouse, T. B. H., 12.
Steptoe, Col. E. J., 17, 136.
Stern, Jacob Ludwig, 86.
Stiefel, Alexander, 20, 76, 79, 178.
Strauss, Ada, 86, 173.
Strauss, Jacob, 62.
Strauss, Leon, 79-81.
Strauss, Levi, 132.
Strickland, Judge, 99.
Struble law, 171.
Sutter Hall, Calif., 148, 150.
Sutton, Frederick W., 148.
Symmons, Miss, 142.
Symons, Frances, 177.
Symons, Hannah, 178.
Symons, Samuel, 20, 177.
Synagogues. *See* B'nai Israel Congregation; Montefiore Congregation.

T

Talmage, James E., 7 n.
Ten Tribes, 8.
Thomas, Arthur, 85.
Tithing, 39-40.
Tobias, Mary, 177.
Tolerance, 36, 51, 63, 68-70, 82, 91, 96, 99, 102, 119-120, 134, 136-37, 153-54.
Tombstone, Ariz., 60.
Travel routes. *See* Overland route; Panama route; Stages.
Treichenberg, Rev., 72.
Trumbo, J. K., 58-59.
Tullidge, Edward W., 10, 38.
"Twelve Apostles," 12, 153.

U

Union Pacific Railroad, 1, 4, 60-61, 132, 138, 161, 163.
Unitarian Society, First, 89.
United Order, 37-38.
Urie, John, 53.
Utah Colonization Fund, 168.
Utah, remoteness of, 1-6.
Utes, 111.

V

Van Praag, H. A., 20.
Vigilantes, 32-33. *See* Lawlessness.
Vincennes, Ind., 160.
Virginia City, Mont., 138, 160.
Virginia City, Nev., 46, 60, 134, 150, 161.
Vollmer, F., 86.

W

Wagon train. *See* Overland route.
Wakara, Chief, 121.
Walker Brothers, 40, 42-43, 49, 52, 58.
Walker, William, 147.
Warm Springs, Utah, 134.
Wasatch Mountains, 116.
Wasser, Hannah, 142.
Wasser, Michel, 142.
Wasser [Watters], Wolf, 142.
Wasser [Watters], Mrs. Wolf, 142.
Wasserman, Moses, 20, 98.
Watson, Miss M., 86.

Watters, Abraham, 5, 16, 19-20, 31, 46, 96-98, 142-51, 177.
Watters, Mrs. Abraham,[1] 143.
Watters, Mrs. Abraham,[2] 149.
Watters, Augusta. *See* Watters, Mrs. Ichel.
Watters Brothers, vii, 58, 73-74, 142-51.
Watters, Florence A., 154, 177.
Watters, Herbert G., 154, 177.
Watters, Ichel, 5-6, 18, 20, 28 n., 31, 35, 46, 49, 68, 70, 72, 74-87, 93, 97-98, 135, 142, 148, 150-54, 162, 178.
Watters, Mrs. Ichel, 142, 153-54.
Watters, Isadore Max, 154, 177.
Watters, Lazarus [Leiser], 31, 142.
Watters, Leon Laizer, v, 154.
Watters, Martha. *See* Graupe, Mrs. William.
Watters, Sarah, 93, 177.
Watters, Seward, 154, 177.
Watters, William G., 143.
Weitz, Samuel, 27 n., 89.
Wells, Daniel H., 119 n.
Welsh, Isadore L., 177.
Werner, Mrs. Gerard, 133.
West, Caleb W., 171.
Wheeling, W. Va., 161.
Wheelock, Mrs., 120 n.
Whitney, Orson F., 47-48, 54, 152, 170.
Wilkes, Charles, 150.
Wilkes, Edward, 150.
Wilkinson & Fenn, 49.
Williamson, Corinne, 61.
Williamson, J. A., 61.
Wilmington, Ohio, 163.
Wilson, J. P., 86.
Winestine, Norman, 155 n.
Wise, Isaac M., 79.
Wolf, Isaac, 75.
Wolf, Moss, 97.
Wolff, Marks, 178.
Woodrow, Mrs. H. C., 173.
Woodruff, Apostle, 119 n.
Woolf, Isaac, 20.
Woolf, Lena, 177.
Woolf, M., 20.
Woolf, Simon, 20, 178.
Woolner, Charles S., 177.
Wurzburg, Fanny, 177.
Wurzburg, Isidore [Isadore], 76, 177.
Wurzburg, Luis, 20, 30, 177.

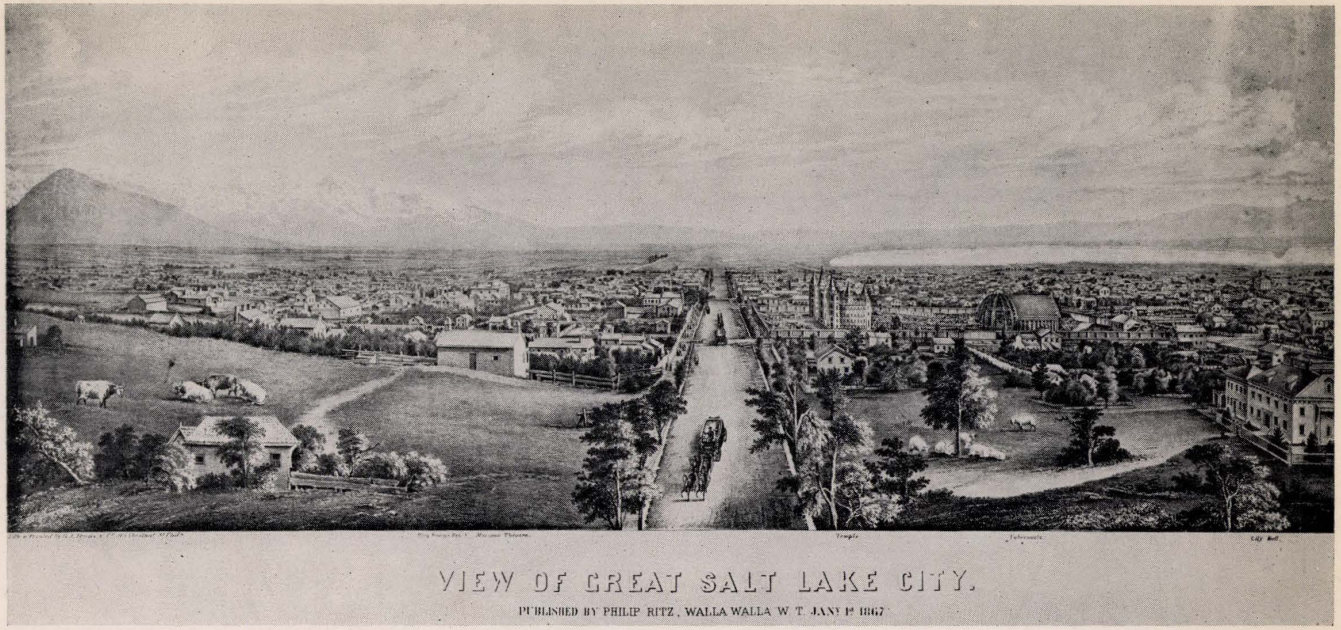
Y

Yom Kippur, 67, 74, 89, 134, 145.
Young, Brigham, vi, 10, 13, 17, 22 n., 36, 38-39, 43-45, 47-48, 50-52, 54-56, 62-63, 68-69, 72, 91, 94, 120-21, 126, 131, 164 n.
Young, Carl, 79.
Young, Levi Edgar, 120 n.
Young Men's Literary Association, 70, 129.

Z

Zion, 7, 11-12, 38.
Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, 55-59, 127, 132.
Zions of Utah and Palestine, 7-16.

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GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, 1867

[The Mormon Temple was obviously drawn in after the photograph had been taken, since the Temple was not completed until 1892.]

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